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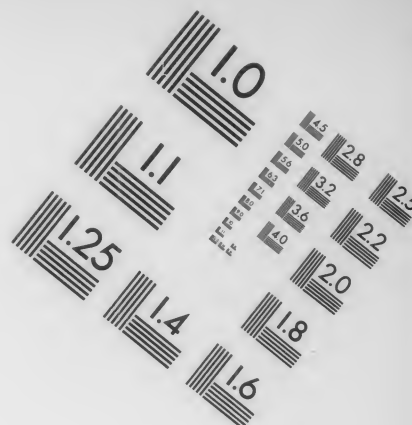
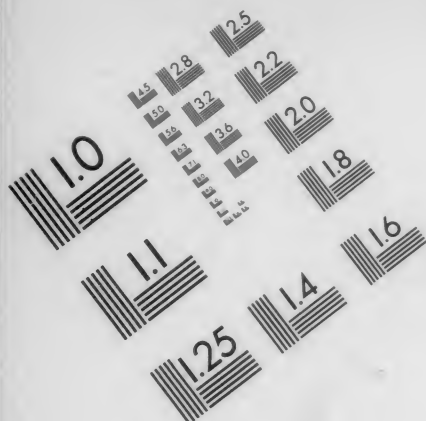


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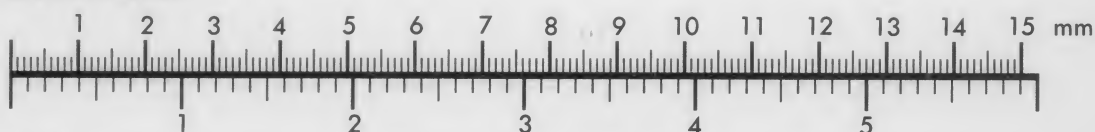
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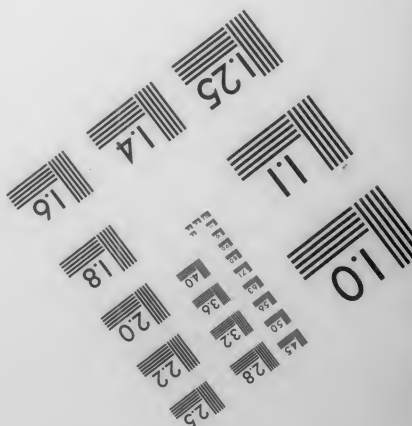
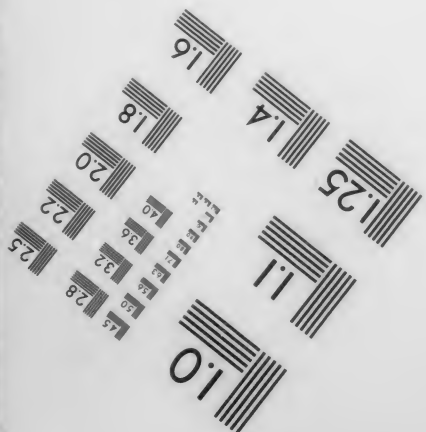
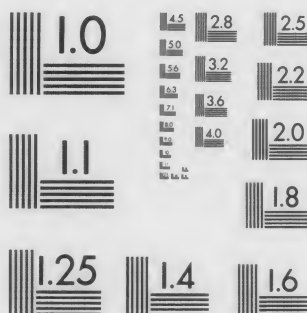
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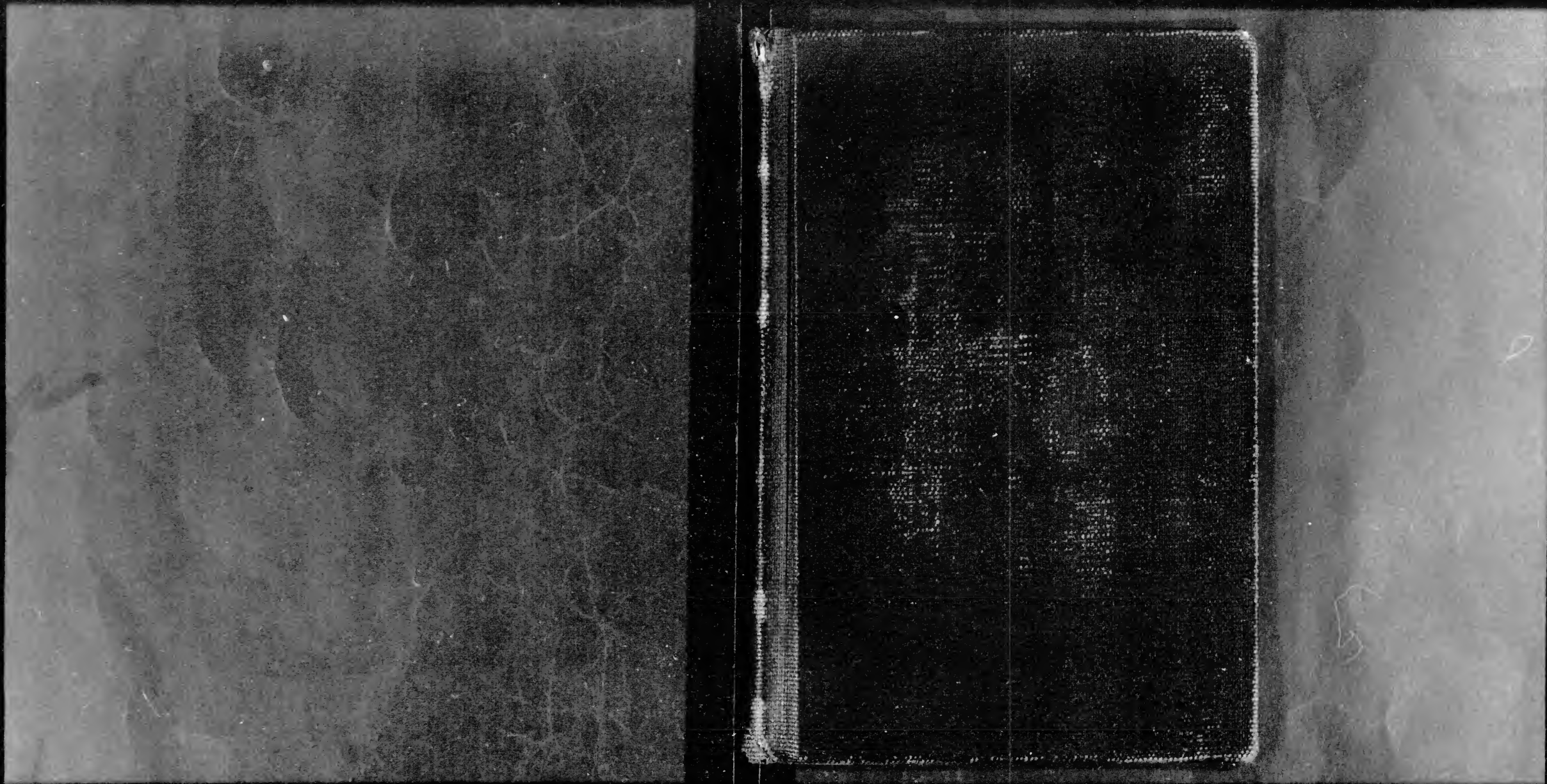
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A HISTORY
OF
LATIN LITERATURE.

BY
LEONHARD SCHMITZ, LL.D.,
CLASSICAL EXAMINER IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.



NEW YORK:
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS,
182 FIFTH AVENUE.

19 MAY 1981

PREFACE.

It seems strange that in this country, where Latin is taught in all the public and even in most of the middle-class schools, there does not exist, as far as I know, a concise general history of Latin Literature that might be put into the hands of young students, and give them a succinct history of its treasures, of its gradual development, and ultimate decay. I have endeavoured to supply this want in a manner which, I hope, may be acceptable not only to the student of Latin, but to educated readers in general, who cannot fail to take an interest in the literature of a people that has exercised, and is still exercising, so great an influence upon the civilised world.

I might have confined myself to those parts of Latin Literature which are still extant, or even to those writers whose works really deserve the name of classical, and are commonly read in schools and universities; but in either case I should have conveyed a most inadequate and partial idea of what Latin Literature really was, or rather has been. I have, therefore, thought it preferable to give a complete, though very brief, survey of the whole domain of literature, from its rudest beginnings down to the time when the Latin language in Italy and the Latinised provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Africa was losing its original character, and, under the influence of the conquerors, entered upon an entirely new development, which in the end produced the modern languages of Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal. The languages thus gradually formed out of Latin were at first scarcely suited to be employed for literary purposes, and hence ancient Latin still continued for centuries to be used by both the conquered and the conquerors as the language of literature. In many cases the men who wrote Latin had learned it, as a new or foreign language, in addition to their own mother tongue; and until that time, about the

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beginning of the seventh century, the Latin language and literature cannot be said to have really died out, and down to that time, accordingly, I have carried its history. No kind of literary production has been excluded; even grammars and school-books and other technical works have received their share of attention. The specific Christian or theological writers of the third, fourth, and following centuries have been left unnoticed in some continental works on Latin Literature; but, as they spoke and wrote in Latin, and as, during the later centuries, it was more especially the great Christian writers who, in their apologetical and polemical works, kept up a vigorous literary life in Italy and other parts of the empire, their principal writings, and especially those that are of interest to scholars, have been briefly noticed. Their theological views could not, of course, be discussed in a work like the present.

The study of Latin Literature has for many a year been one of my favourite pursuits, and I have gone through nearly all that remains of it; but in composing the present manual I have also availed myself of the labours of those who have preceded me in this department of learning. The works to which I am chiefly indebted are—J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina*, edited by Ernesti: Leipzig, 1823, in 3 vols.; Bähr's *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*: Carlsruhe, 1844, in 2 vols.; Bernhardt, *Grundriss der Römischen Literatur, Dritte Bearbeitung*: Braunschweig, 1857; and more especially to W. S. Teuffel's *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*: Leipzig, 1870. This last work, of which an English translation by Dr. W. Wagner has recently been published, is of the highest value to scholars by its ample quotations of authorities, which enable the student to form his own opinion on every question. I have, on the whole, adopted Teuffel's arrangement of the subject, giving an account of all the writers who flourished during the same period, so as to present to the reader a brief synoptical view of each period.

It is hoped that the mention of one or two good editions of every author, in footnotes, will be a useful addition, especially to younger students,

L. SCHMITZ.

LONDON, June 1877.

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HISTORY OF LATIN LITERATURE.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE literature of a nation, in the widest sense of the term, comprises everything that has been written or published at any period of its history. In this sense it includes not only the poetical, historical, and philosophical productions, but also its laws, statutes, decrees, set forms of prayers, proclamations, etc., so far as these latter are preserved in inscriptions on stone or brass or otherwise. Now, inasmuch as the progress and development of the language is indissolubly connected with the progress and development of literature, such documents are of no small importance and interest. The growth of literature always goes hand in hand with that of the language, and the character of the former is greatly dependent on that of the latter: for an uncouth and uncultivated language can scarcely produce a literature of any pretensions to beauty or elegance, for language is far more than the mere garment of literature.

But in a narrower sense such documents can scarcely be regarded as constituting a part of a nation's literature, which is generally and properly limited to the poetical, historical, oratorical, philosophical, and scientific productions; all of which are more or less subject to certain artistic rules of composition, and are designed to amuse, delight, instruct, and guide the minds of readers. It is to literature in this sense

* We prefer the name *Latin* to *Roman* in connection with literature, partly because the Romans themselves always employed that term (*litteræ Latine*; they never spoke of *litteræ Romanæ*), and partly because we have to deal with a literature written in the Latin language, which was not confined to the city of Rome.

that we propose, in the present manual, mainly to direct our attention; but as in the most ancient times of the Roman State we possess very little beyond a few fragmentary documents, prayers, laws, etc., they cannot be entirely overlooked, forming, as they do, the germs of literature in its proper sense.

Literature, more than anything else, clearly reflects the intellectual, social, political, and religious condition of a nation; and, if the complete literature of any ancient people were preserved, we should be enabled to form as clear and distinct an idea of its whole life, and its mode of acting and thinking, as of any modern nation with which we are in constant intercourse. But as literature is the reflex and the natural outcome of a nation's life, a knowledge of its political and social history is of the utmost importance if we wish fully to understand and appreciate its literature. We may indeed form some idea of a man from the manner in which he speaks or writes, but our judgment and estimate of him by this means alone cannot be as correct and just as it will be if we are acquainted with the history and circumstances of his life. In like manner the history of a nation affords the best help to understand and appreciate its literature. Nay, even the geographical position and the climate of a country exercises an undeniable influence on its language and literature.

Literature is above all dependent upon the art of writing; and before the invention of that art literature is an impossibility. Some kind of poetry, it is true, is found among the rudest tribes wholly unacquainted with the art of writing, but such poetry does not become part of literature until the time when it is fixed in a written form. On the other hand, we know that in Greece and in Italy the art of writing was known long before it was employed for literary purposes; for much depends upon the facility for obtaining writing materials. So long as people had no other materials to write upon than stone, brass, the hides of animals, or linen, literature had little chance of being developed.

The Romans, we may say at the very outset, were not a people given to the cultivation of literature or the arts; they did not possess that flexibility and versatility of mind, nor

that imaginative power which distinguished the Greeks; their virtues consisted more in manly sobriety, practical energy, and perseverance—qualities which enabled them to become great as statesmen, legislators, and warriors. Art and literature possessed no charms for them, until a closer acquaintance with the Greeks awakened in them a spirit of emulation and quickened their zeal. Their religion was of a simple and primitive nature, little calculated to fill the imagination with the beautiful myths and legends which constitute the life and soul of Greek poetry: the Romans, in fact, had no mythology until they adopted that of the Greeks. The only branches of knowledge that had any value in the eyes of the early Romans were the knowledge of law, the traditions of their own legendary history, and the power of speaking in public. Hence the first Latin authors were for the most part foreigners and freedmen struggling with poverty, and the forms of their productions were such as might be expected to satisfy the untutored tastes of their hearers or readers. Whatever was produced during the first 500 years after the building of the city was thoroughly of a national character, and unaffected by any foreign influence.

In what condition the language of the Romans was at the time usually assigned to the foundation of the city (B.C. 753), we have no means of judging. We possess, indeed, a few prayers or litanies of a very early date, and in a form of language which it is difficult to understand, but it is impossible to say what changes may have been introduced in them by later transcribers.

It is only about 513 years after the building of the city (B.C. 240) that we meet with the real beginnings of a steadily progressive literature in the proper sense of the term, and this was the time when Greek literature had already passed its best period, and had almost lost the power of original production.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES (B.C. 753) TO THE AGE OF LIVIUS
ANDRONICUS* (B.C. 240).

1. There are very few remains of this period, and even what there is can scarcely be regarded as belonging to literature in its proper sense. They are partly in verse and partly in prose, and are interesting chiefly in a philological point of view.

A. METRICAL REMAINS.

These are all composed in what is called the Saturnian, that is, the ancient Italian metre, a species of verse which remained in popular use among the Romans, even long after they had become familiar with the metres of the Greeks. A Saturnian line is divided into two halves, each with a different rhythm. Scholars are not yet agreed as to the laws regulating the Saturnian verse, of which the following line is generally quoted as a specimen :—

Dabunt malum Metelli | Natio poetæ.

2. The most ancient remains are a kind of religious poetry, prayers, or litanies, addressed to some divinity. The following are those known to us :—

a. The song of the Salii (*carmen Saliorum*), who formed a college of priests of the god Mars, and in the beginning of spring used to chant a song or hymn invoking the god to bless the fields: for Mars was the sun-god as well as the god of war. That the chanting of the hymns was accompanied by dancing is clear from the name Salii, *i.e.*, the dancers. In the days of Cicero the language of those songs had become unintelligible to the Romans. A few fragments are still extant.

* All the literary remains of this period have been collected by Egger, *Latini Sermonis vet. Reliquiæ*: Paris, 1843; and the poetical remains by W. Corssen, *Origines Poesis Romanæ*: Berlin, 1846.

b. The song of the *Fratres Arvales*. These Arvales formed a brotherhood or college, and every year, shortly before the harvest time, at the festival of the *Ambarvalia*, went in procession round the fields, chanting a hymn in honour of the goddess Ceres. One of these hymns, which continued to be sung at the *Ambarvalia* down to a late period of the empire, was discovered in 1777 at Rome, and has been repeatedly published and commented upon. Its language is such that the later Romans can scarcely have understood it. Its beginning runs as follows :—

*Ennos, Lases, iuvate! Neve luerem, Mars, sins
Incurrere in pleoris! Satur furere, Marmar
Limen salis sta berber! i.e.,*

*En, nos, Lares, juvate! Neve luem, Mars, sinas
Incurrere in plures! Satur furere, Mars!
Limen sali, sta verbere.*

There can be no doubt that other priestly colleges likewise had their ancient songs or hymns, which were sung at their festivals, but no traces of them have come down to us.

3. Other productions not of a religious character were :—

a. The *Carmina vatium*, songs of soothsayers or prophets, in the Saturnian metre. *Carmina* of this kind existed in great numbers, and were thought to contain the utterances of ancient prophets, such as Cn. Marcius was believed to have been. Popular belief assigned some of them to the goddess Carmentis, or the rustic Fauns.

b. *Nenia*, lamentations or dirges, sung or chanted at funerals, to the accompaniment of a flute, in praise of the deceased. This custom was observed to a late period, though it degenerated, inasmuch as latterly they were sung by women hired for the purpose (*præfica*), in consequence of which it fell into contempt.

c. *Songs sung at banquets*, celebrating the exploits of the great men of the past, to the accompaniment of the flute. Cato, who lived towards the end of the sixth century after the building of the city, is reported by Cicero to have stated in his work entitled *Origines*, that long before his time this custom had existed, but that it had died out. No remnants of these poems, or of the *Nenia*, have come down to us, unless, as some have supposed, the most ancient inscriptions

on the tombs of the Scipios are regarded as *Neniae*. But the absence of all poetical turns or expressions in these sepulchral inscriptions render such a supposition highly improbable.*

Rules about the weather, incantations, and the like, were also handed down in Saturnian metre.

4. The remaining poetical efforts of the early Romans partook of the nature of scenic or dramatic representations.

a. *Fescennini versus*, so called from the town of Fescennium, in Southern Etruria, were sung originally by the country people after the harvest, and on other festive occasions, with dances, but were in later times confined to marriage festivities. They appear to have been extemporised productions in which the country people, disguised and masked, assailed one another in somewhat rude and coarse jokes and railleries. So far as they were metrical they were Saturnian verses. After the end of the republic the Fescennines became part of the poetical literature, and several poets of the imperial period, in their nuptial poems, imitated the character of the ancient Fescennines.

b. *Atellanae*, or *Atellanae Fabulae*, so called after the little Oscan town of Atella, in Campania, were comical representations of the odd doings in small country towns. They were improvised plays, and became very popular at Rome, where freeborn youths with masks amused themselves with such extempore plays. They were an artless and natural kind of drama, of which only the general plan seems to have been previously arranged among the players. The whole consisted simply of dialogues with songs interspersed; the jokes were coarse, and often of an obscene kind. The *Atellanae* are sometimes called *Osci ludi*, Oscan plays, from the district where they had originated, and the language employed in them was provincial or common rustic.

In the time of Sulla the *atellanae* became regular burlesques or farces, written out and performed by regular actors as after-plays (*exodia*) to more serious performances, and this

* Niebuhr's theory, which is now generally abandoned, was that the songs sung at banquets were a kind of ballad or epic poetry, and formed one of the principal sources of the early traditional history of Rome. Lord Macaulay's beautiful *Lays of Ancient Rome* are something like what Niebuhr supposed those ancient songs to have been.

practice continued under the empire; but their extreme licentiousness had sometimes to be restrained by legal enactments.

c. *Saturæ* somewhat resembled the *Atellanae*, and consisted at first of merry performances of the rustic youths of Latium, in which they recited songs or comic tales, with much gesticulation and dancing, to the accompaniment of a flute. When, in B.C. 364, regular scenic representations were introduced into Rome, the *Saturæ* were performed in temporary wooden theatres by strolling players. When subsequently the artistic drama, in imitation of that of the Greeks, became fashionable in Rome, the *Saturæ*, like the *Atellanae* and *Mimes* (*mimi*), became after-plays (*exodia*). The *Mimes*, originally dumb shows, became in the days of Cicero a distinct branch of dramatic literature.

Such were the beginnings of a national poetical literature among the Romans. All, or most of them, whether they were written or only spoken extempore, were composed in the Saturnian metre. The fragments which have come down to us can scarcely be supposed to have reached us in their original form, as they were handed down by oral tradition.

B. REMAINS IN PROSE.

5. Prose was developed among the Romans, as among other nations, later than poetry, and we hear of no published work in prose till towards the end of this period. All that we are told of during the previous centuries consisted of the barest chronicles, lists of magistrates and priests, treaties with neighbouring states, and laws. All these, with the exception of the laws, which were in reality nothing but ancient customs, must have been written down at the time, and the question naturally presents itself, from whom did the Romans learn the art of writing, and at what time was it introduced among them? It is universally admitted that the Romans learned the art of writing from the Greeks settled in southern Italy and Sicily; the alphabets of the Latins and Greeks are almost identical, but about the time of the introduction of writing among the Romans opinions are divided. Some relate that it was brought into Italy by the mythical

Evander from Arcadia, and written documents are mentioned as old as the time of Romulus. But such statements are as mythical as the stories of Evander and Romulus themselves; they can prove nothing. One thing is certain, that the census in the reign of Servius could not possibly have been carried out without the art of writing, and it may therefore be fairly assumed that writing was known and practised at Rome long before the establishment of the republic. It is equally certain that at first, and for a long time afterwards, it was not employed for literary purposes, but only in the affairs of ordinary life, to keep brief records of important events, to draw up treaties with neighbouring states, and the like. Such things can scarcely be regarded as literary productions, yet they cannot be passed over in a history of literature, of which, in fact, they form the first rude beginnings. The first published literary composition in prose we hear of was a speech of Appius Claudius the Blind, which, in B.C. 280, he delivered in the senate against Pyrrhus. But let us see what was done before that time to preserve the memory of the past. We hear,

6. *a.* Of *Annales Maximi*, so called because they were kept by the pontifex maximus, whence they are also termed simply *Annales pontificum*. The pontifex maximus recorded every year, on a white tablet publicly exhibited in his own house, the most memorable events of the year, together with any prodigies that had occurred. These events were drawn up in the briefest possible manner, and any one who wished might read or copy them. The custom of making such records was very ancient, and was continued until about B.C. 115, when they were found to be no longer necessary, as the writing of regular historical works superseded the drawing up of such simple and meagre records. A collection of them was then made in eighty books, commencing with the origin of the Roman state. But, even if we could grant that such annals had been kept ever since the days of Romulus, those portions referring to the time previous to the Gallic conflagration could not be relied upon, since during that calamity, and several times afterwards, the house of the pontifex had been destroyed by fire, and the annals had to be restored and made up from memory. We

may even assert that the annals relating to the very earliest times were in all probability pure inventions, or made up out of the mythical legends.

Like the pontiffs, other priestly colleges also kept records of the persons who had been invested with the priestly office, and of their doings. Hence we hear of *libri augurales*, *libri Saliorum*, *commentarii quindecim virorum*, and the like. Such chronological lists are sometimes called *Fasti*.

b. *Commentarii Magistratuum* were lists of the magistrates of each year, which had probably been kept ever since the establishment of the republic. The earliest of them—some of which had been saved during the burning of the city by the Gauls—were written on linen, whence they are called *libri linteï*. They were kept on the Capitoline hill, in the temple of Moneta, the goddess of memory, and are often mentioned by Livy as his authorities.

These, like other similar records, were kept by the priests, who made very extensive use of the art of writing, for they seem to have drawn up treatises partly referring to the forms of worship (the ritual), partly to what may be termed ecclesiastical law, and partly to occurrences in the church and state. The pontiffs in particular had under their control the calendar, the fixing of the *dies fasti* and *nefasti*, and everything connected with the arrangements of time. They also kept lists of the annual chief magistrates (*fasti consulares*) and of the triumphs that were celebrated (*fasti triumphales*). Important remnants of such *fasti* have come down to us, and the most celebrated among them are fragments of the *Fasti Capitolini*, which were dug out in the Roman Forum, and contain lists of the consuls, censors, and dictators, with their masters of the horse, from the earliest times of the republic.

c. *Privata Monumenta* were chronicles kept by private families, recording events which had occurred within the family, and also occurrences in the city. They appear to have been kept more especially by the great patrician families, such as that of the Fabii, whose pride and vanity often led them to misrepresent and falsify the events in which they were concerned. Such families also kept pedigrees and lists of their ancestors, whose images adorned the atrium of their houses.

Underneath these images there were generally inscriptions (*elogia, indices*) recording the deeds of the persons represented. Here, also, truth was not unfrequently sacrificed to family vanity. Of a similar character were the *laudationes*, or *orationes funebres*, which were delivered by relatives or friends at the burial of a deceased person.

d. As regards *treaties* (*federa*) said to have been concluded with other communities or states during the kingly period, we may dismiss as fabulous the treaty which Romulus is reported to have concluded with Veii for 100 years; but a treaty concluded by Tullus Hostilius with the Sabines, which was engraved on a brass pillar; a second, concluded by Servius Tullius with the Latins, likewise engraved on a brass pillar; and a third, a treaty of peace between king Tarquin and the town of Gabii, which was written on the hide of the ox sacrificed on the occasion—all these may have been historical.

In the very first year of the republic (B.C. 509) the Romans concluded a commercial treaty with Carthage, of which Polybius gives a translation, and observes that the language was so different from that spoken in his time that even the most learned were puzzled to explain some of the expressions occurring in the original.

Other treaties are mentioned as having been concluded with the Etruscan king Porsena, with the Latins, and with the town of Ardea, but their texts have not come down to us.

e. *Leges*.—The most ancient laws were not written, but were handed down as ancient customs or usages from generation to generation. There existed, indeed, in later times a collection of laws, called *leges regiae*, professing to be ordinances and decisions of the Roman kings; but the compilation was made at a late period by one Sextus Papirius, about whom nothing is known, but from whom the collection was called *jus Papirianum*.

We also hear of *commentarii regum*, said to have been drawn up by the Roman kings; their substance may have been ancient, but their collection likewise belongs to a late period.

Livy tells us that in the year B.C. 181 certain books of King Numa Pompilius were dug out of the ground, but that

they were destroyed by order of the senate, probably because the senate was convinced that they were merely a priestly fabrication or mystification.

The laws of the twelve tables are really historical, and of the highest importance in the history of Rome. They were drawn up by the legislative commission of the decemvirs, and published in the year B.C. 450. They are really the first written laws we know of in Roman history. They not only established for ever the principles of the civil law, together with the rules of proceeding in civil cases, but also embraced the criminal and ecclesiastical law, together with what we may term police regulations. The laws of the twelve tables remained ever after the basis of all Roman legislation, and down to the time of Cicero boys at school used to learn them by heart.

The publication of these laws, which were engraved on brazen tables accessible to all citizens, were a great benefit to the plebeians, who in all legal matters had until then been entirely at the mercy of the patricians. But the latter even now claimed the exclusive right of interpreting and administering the law, as well as the exclusive knowledge of the modes of proceeding (*legis actiones*), and of the days on which it was lawful to transact legal business (*dies fasti*). These pretensions of the haughty patricians were silenced, in B.C. 304, by the scribe Cn. Flavius, who, with the sanction and support of his master, Appius Claudius, published the *legis actiones*, together with a list of the *dies fasti*. After this time we hear of several eminent jurists, who wrote and published their comments on the laws of the twelve tables. Many fragments are still extant.*

f. *Oratory*.—Eloquence must have been cultivated to a certain extent from the very beginning of the republic, for in a free state, with its popular assemblies, it is a most powerful instrument in the hands of ambitious men aspiring to honours and distinction in the state. We have already mentioned the funeral orations, and there can be no doubt that, after the establishment of the republic, the voice of many a rude orator was heard in the comitia, in the senate,

* They have been collected by Egger, l.c., and by Gneist in his *Institutionum et Regularum juris Romani Syntagma*, p. xii. fol.

and in the courts of law. But none of these oratorical attempts were ever published, for the speeches we read in the early books of Livy are entirely his own compositions. In the year B.C. 280, Appius Claudius the Blind delivered in the senate a speech against king Pyrrhus, which he afterwards published, and which was still extant in the time of Cicero. Appius Claudius must therefore be regarded as the first Latin writer of prose. He also composed poems (*carmina*) which seem to have been rich in moral precepts, and to have exhibited symptoms of an imitation of Greek models.

SECOND PERIOD.

FROM LIVIUS ANDRONICUS TO THE END OF THE SIXTH CENTURY
AFTER THE BUILDING OF THE CITY.

(FROM B.C. 240 TO ABOUT B.C. 150)

7. We are now entering upon the period when the Romans began to have a real literature, but it was from the beginning and continued always to be under the influence of that of Greece, which prevented the development of a truly national literature.

The Romans had been acquainted with the language and institutions of Greece at a very early period, as is evident from a variety of circumstances. They learned the art of writing from the Greeks; the constitution ascribed to Servius Tullius bears unmistakable signs of having been influenced to some extent by the constitution of Solon; the innovations introduced by the Tarquins in matters of religion, and the story about the Sibylline books show that considerable attention was paid to Greek customs. That in the drawing up of the laws of the twelve tables the Romans were assisted by the study of the laws of Athens and other Greek states, is well attested; and it is well known that soon after a special place was set apart in the Roman Forum for the Greeks who happened to be staying at Rome (*græco-stasis*). Many Roman families, further, adopted Greek names, such as Sophus, Philo, Philippus, etc., and Roman ambassadors sent to cities in southern Italy were able to address their audiences in Greek. Merchants and sailors were no doubt equally familiar with Greek, and the numbers of Greek slaves had diffused a knowledge of their language even among the lower classes of Roman citizens. This familiarity with the language and customs of the Greeks must have immensely increased during the first Punic war (B.C. 264-241), when Roman armies, during their prolonged stay in

Sicily, had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the state of Greek civilization.

What was thus begun was afterwards continued and increased by the wars with Macedonia, Antiochus, and the Greeks, to such an extent that men, cherishing the old national spirit, and seeing it gradually give way to foreign influence, felt and expressed alarm at the growing taste for everything foreign. However, the current which had once set in went on irresistibly: the old Roman simplicity and frugality disappeared more and more, and foreign vices were introduced with the foreign civilization, which after all did not penetrate to the heart and souls of the Romans, but remained in most cases a mere outward varnish. After the subjugation of the Greeks in Italy, and still more after the conquest of Greece itself, the old and simple religion of the Romans was supplanted by the more attractive mythology of the Greeks, and fell into oblivion. The Greek divinities were identified with those of the Romans, and the myths of the former were transferred to the latter. It may have been about the same time that the numbers of Greeks who flocked to Rome from all parts flattered their conquerors by impressing upon them the belief that they were sprung from one of the heroes of the Iliad, and thus invented the story about Æneas and his colony in Italy, a story which ever after remained an article of the national creed among the Romans.

All educated Romans of this period wrote and spoke Greek; the earliest Roman historians wrote the history of their country in Greek, either because they found their own language too rude and uncouth, or because they were ambitious to exhibit the greatness of their own nation to the Greeks. ?

If we bear these things in mind we cannot be surprised to find that, in the very first year after the termination of the first Punic war, translations or adaptations of Greek dramas were exhibited on the Roman stage, and were received with great applause. The influence of Greek literature thus commenced continued down to the latest times, and the Romans were never able entirely to emancipate themselves from it.

The Latin language and its orthography, however, were fixed once for all during this period, after various attempts

to introduce system and uniformity. Every writer at first followed his own method of bringing the written language into harmony with the spoken one. Thus, Ennius is said to have been the first to use double consonants, and L. Attius indicated the length of vowels by doubling them, a practice which is still found in some ancient inscriptions. The most important monument of this period, from a philological point of view, is the *Senatus consultum de Bacanalibus* of the year B.C. 186, which was discovered in 1640 in the territory of Naples, and is now preserved in the library at Vienna; some of the inscriptions on the tombs of the Scipios, which were discovered in the vicinity of Rome in 1616 and 1780, likewise belong to this period.

A. POETS OF THE SECOND PERIOD.

8. Whether the soothsayer or prophet (*vates*), Cn. Marcius, of whom *præcepta* and *carmina* are mentioned, and of whom Livy quotes a prophecy predicting the defeat of Cannæ, B.C. 216, belongs to this period, is not quite certain; but as he appears to have possessed a good knowledge of Greek myths, it seems more probable that he belonged to this than to the preceding period. *Andronicus made*

9. Livius Andronicus is certainly the first important poet of this period. He was by birth a Greek who, when quite a young man, was taken prisoner at the capture of Tarentum, in B.C. 272. He seems to have been carried to Rome as a slave of Livius Salinator, who, on discovering his talent, entrusted to him the education of his children, and gave him his freedom. He then supported himself by teaching Greek and Latin, and for the use of his pupils he translated the *Odyssey* into Latin in the Saturnian metre. This translation remained for a long time one of the common school books, though, so far as we can judge from the few fragments which have come down to us, the translation was awkward, clumsy, and inaccurate. Among his Saturnian lines there also occurred a few hexameters, showing that he tried occasionally to imitate the original. He also translated plays from the Greek, and published them, and he himself appeared as an actor on the stage. His plays, fourteen of which are known to us by their titles, seem to have been chiefly taken from Euripides:

the beginning of Latin Literature.

he retained the lighter metres of the originals, but, seems to have been fond of alliteration. The first performance of such a play belongs to the year B.C. 240; and more than thirty years after this, in B.C. 207, he was commissioned to write a poem on the victory over Hasdrubal, which was chanted by maidens. In recognition of his merits as a poet and actor, a special place was assigned to poets (*scribæ*) and actors in the temple of Minerva on the Aventine. The ancients, Cicero, Horace, and others, judge very disparagingly of the productions of Livius Andronicus; but the few fragments we possess do not enable us to form an independent judgment.*

10. **Cn. Nævius** was a native of Campania, but probably a Latin, though not a Roman citizen, as in this case he could hardly have been treated by his enemies with the severity he had to submit to. He produced his first plays on the Roman stage in B.C. 235. He had served as a soldier in the first Punic war. As a poet he followed, on the whole, the example of Livius Andronicus, but preferred comedy to tragedy; and as a Campanian he seems to have been of a somewhat fiery and independent disposition, and unconcerned as to whom he might offend by the sallies of his wit. He thus drew upon himself the enmity of the proud Roman aristocrats, especially of the Metelli, whom he offended by the line—

"Fato Metelli Romai fiunt consules."

In consequence of this he was thrown into prison and afterwards sent into exile. He died at Utica, in Africa, about B.C. 199, or, according to Cicero, somewhat earlier.

Nævius was a man animated by a truly national spirit, and introduced into dramatic literature the kind of comedy known by the name *prætextæ* or *togatæ*, that is, comedies in which the chief characters were Romans, in short national characters, as opposed to *palliatae*, i.e., comedies of which the characters were Greek, and which were either translations or adaptations from the Greek. This national spirit of the poet gained for his works a popularity which lasted several centuries, and which, if we may judge from the few fragments

* The fragments of Livius Andronicus have been collected by H. Düntzer: Berlin, 1835.

that have reached our time, was well deserved. We know the titles of about seven tragedies and of about thirty-six comedies that are ascribed to him.

In his later years, Nævius wrote an epic poem on the first Punic war, in the old Saturnian metre, which was subsequently divided by grammarians into seven books; the first two contained the early history of Rome, and the remaining five gave an account of the Punic war. The style of the work was plain and simple, somewhat resembling that of our rhyming chronicles.*

11. **T. Maccius Plautus** was born at Sassina, a small town in Umbria, about B.C. 254, of free parents, but in humble circumstances. He afterwards went to Rome where he became connected with the stage, but embarking in commercial speculation he lost all he had saved, and worked for a time in a flour mill. Even during this period he is said to have written several comedies, an occupation to which he subsequently devoted himself exclusively, and with the greatest success. He chiefly adapted Greek plays (*palliatae*) to the Roman stage, especially those of what is called the new comedy, including such productions as those of Diphilos, Philemon, and Menander. He died at Rome in B.C. 184. Plautus was exclusively a writer of comedies, and is said by some to have composed no less than 130 plays, of which twenty are still preserved, though some are not quite complete. We know the titles of a great many more, but even in antiquity many of them were regarded as spurious. Owing to Plautus' popularity some of them may have been written by imitators of the style of Plautus, or he may have revised and corrected the plays of others who lived at the time, for we know that comedy was then very popular, and that many tried to win laurels in this department of literature.

The twenty comedies of Plautus still extant are:—

1. *Amphitruo*, the only one of his comedies which treats of a mythological subject.

2. *Asinaria*, a farcical play, full of excellent comic effect and lively characterization.

3. *Aulularia* represents the character of a miser in the

* The fragments have been collected by O. Ribbeck, *Tragicorum Lat. Reliquiæ*, p. 6, foll.: and also by E. Klussmann: Jena, 1843.

most varied circumstances and in the most effective manner. The last part of the play is unfortunately lost.

4. *Captivi*, rather a sentimental play, with beautiful scenes, and enlivened by the character of a parasite.

5. *Curculio*, so called from the name of the parasite who is the chief figure of the play.

6. *Casina*, a somewhat coarse comedy, of which the conclusion is wanting. An old amorous man is excellently portrayed.

7. *Cistellaria*, one half of which is lost; its character is very like that of the

8. *Epidicus*, which, however, is richer in humour and more complicate in its plot.

9. *Bacchides*, one of Plautus' best plays, both in its plot and in the delineation of character; the first scenes of it are lost.

10. *Mostellaria*, a ghost story abounding in well-drawn characters.

11. *Menæchmi*, perhaps the most successful among all his plays, shows the amusing mistakes arising from the close resemblance of twin brothers.

12. *Miles Gloriosus*, a somewhat caricatured picture of a bragging soldier.

13. *Mercator* represents scenes similar to those of the *Casina*.

14. *Pseudolus*, an amusing play, tolerably correct in tone and form.

15. *Pænulus*, not without great defects, but celebrated on account of the introduction of a Carthaginian who speaks his own, that is, the Phœnician language.

16. *Persa*, an interesting play, in which the chief characters are slaves.

17. *Rudens* is more attractive by merry and witty scenes than by its design as a whole.

18. *Stichus*, a very close imitation of a play of Menander.

19. *Trinummus* describes family scenes, but without female characters; it is very temperate in its plan and colouring.

20. *Truculentus* is full of extravagant humour; a courtesan plays the principal part.

So far as we know these plays were first performed at

Rome between the years B.C. 200 and 189, but of some the time is unknown, and they may have been performed either before or after that period.*

12. Plautus has all the excellencies and faults that may be expected from a popular poet of his time and country. He took, indeed, his subjects from the new comedy of the Greeks, but he makes his characters speak and act as true Romans. Thus Alcmena in the *Amphitruo* is a beautiful picture of a Roman matron, drawn simply and from nature, and *Amphitruo* himself is a true Roman warrior. He further introduced his own wit and humour wherever he could, independently of his originals, because he knew well that everything reflecting Roman nationality would have a more powerful effect than anything foreign. His wit is often coarse, but in keeping with the prevailing taste of his age; the characters, it must be remembered, belong for the most part to the lower orders, and the poet had to make them use the language of their class. Plautus himself is said to have preferred the *Epidicus*, the *Pseudolus*, and the *Truculentus*. But there is scarcely one of his plays which, compared with the others, does not present novel and striking features. His main strength lies in the liveliness and animation of his dialogues; he makes no allusions to the personal affairs of any individual among his contemporaries, but often criticises very sharply the prevailing tastes and tendencies of his age.

In regard to his style and language, we can still discern the influence of the old Saturnian verse, for he is fond of alliteration, neglects the length of syllables by position, and is careless about the hiatus. But with all this, his language had the greatest charms for the ancients themselves, who likened it to the language of the Muses, though in the time of Augustus its old-fashioned character ceased to be relished by men of more refined culture. In ready wit and playfulness Plautus has never been surpassed, and his plays maintained their place on the Roman stage long after his death; most of the prologues we now have were composed for performances during the last century of the Republic. Ancient grammarians and critics vied with each other in ex-

* The best editions of the comedies of Plautus are those by F. Ritschl and Fleckeisen, both published at Leipzig.

plaining and commenting on the plays of Plautus no less than has been the case in modern times, for his comedies are of the highest importance in the history of the Latin language.

13. *Q. Ennius* was born in B.C. 239, one year after *Livius Andronicus* had brought out his first play, at *Rudiae*, in the country of the *Peucetii*, in Calabria, where both Greek and Oscan were spoken. During the second Punic war, when *M. Porcius Cato* was prætor in Sardinia, Ennius served under him as a soldier; when Cato returned to Rome, in B.C. 204, he took Ennius with him, who thenceforth appears to have lived in a small house on the *Aventine*, attended by a single maid-servant, and supporting himself by teaching Greek and translating Greek plays for the Roman stage. By this means he gained the friendship of some of the Roman nobility, and especially of the elder *Scipio Africanus*. In B.C. 189 he accompanied the consul, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, on his campaign against the *Ætolians*, and afterwards celebrated his victory over them in a poem. A few years later the son of *Fulvius Nobilior*, having been appointed *triumvir colonie deducendæ*, procured for Ennius the rights of a Roman citizen, and assigned to him a piece of land at *Potentia*, in *Picenum*. Ennius suffered much from gout, and died in B.C. 169. He was buried in the tomb of the *Scipios*, where he was represented in a marble statue.

Ennius spoke three languages, Greek, Oscan, and Latin, whence he used to say that he had *tria corda* (three minds), and notwithstanding his suffering from gout, he used to drink a good deal of wine to help his poetical inspiration.

He was, more than any of his predecessors, the real founder of Latin literature, and may in more than one respect be compared with *Dante*: both displayed the same vigour and energy of language and had the same power of imagination. Ennius stirred up the spirit of the Romans in many ways by introducing among them whatever of Greek art and taste he had himself acquired. The introduction of the hexameter into Latin poetry is his work, and no ancient poet has displayed his powers in such a variety of ways as Ennius, and in most cases with perfect success. He enjoyed the admiration of his countrymen during his lifetime, and down to the latest times of the empire all recognised his extraordinary powers,

and looked upon him as the Roman Homer. The refined gentlemen of the age of Augustus, it is true, did not quite relish his poetry, but such defects as they censured occur even more in the subsequent writers of comedy and tragedy, and they after all refer rather to mere matters of form than to the substance and spirit of his works. Even *Horace* admits his great merits; and, at a later period, when people had become tired of the polished but empty productions of the time, as in the days of *Hadrian*, they gladly returned to the invigorating and genuine intellectual food provided by Ennius, through whom Latin literature had entered upon an entirely new life.

14. All his works were either original compositions or imitations and translations of Greek authors; but his great mind shone more in the former than in the latter. His works were:—

1. *Annales*, his greatest and probably his latest production, an epic poem in eighteen books, in which he related, in hexameter verse, the traditional history of Rome in chronological order, from the arrival of *Æneas* in Italy down to his own time. Ennius himself meant this work to be for the Romans what Homer was for the Greeks, and the Romans really did look upon it in that light. Even the fragments we have of it (about 600 verses or parts of verses) contain passages of the highest poetical merit. These *Annales* were read, both in private and in public, down to a very late period of the empire.

2. *Tragedies*, chiefly free translations of the tragedies of *Euripides*, whose philosophical reasoning and rhetorical manner seem to have had greater attraction for him than *Æschylus* or *Sophocles*. We know the titles of about twenty-six; they were still read and admired in the time of *Cicero*, but we now possess only a few fragments. He also wrote one or two *prætextæ*; but in comedy he seems to have been less successful, and we have only a very few fragments of two or three.

3. *Saturæ*, a collection of various poems in different metres, apparently divided into six books. One of these poems was entitled *Scipio*. The *saturæ* of Ennius must have been very different from those which we have mentioned

before, and which were of a scenic character. Ennius is alluded to by Horace as the inventor of *saturæ* or satires, so that they must have been something like those of Lucilius and Horace himself.

Besides these works, epigrams also are mentioned, and a translation of the prose work of Eumeros, the precursor of modern rationalists, who attempted to explain the myths of the Greek gods as misunderstood natural occurrences.*

15. **M. Pacuvius**, a son of Ennius' sister, was born in B.C. 220 at Tarentum, but afterwards accompanied his uncle to Rome, where he acquired great reputation as a painter, and still more as a writer of tragedies. One of his paintings in the temple of Hercules, in the Forum Boarium, was highly esteemed as late as the time of Pliny. In Rome he became the friend of Laelius and Scipio, and occupied himself chiefly, like his predecessors, with translating Greek plays, an occupation which he continued up to a very advanced period of life, for at the age of eighty he competed with Attius, who was fifty years younger than himself. After this his declining health induced him to return to his native city, where he died at the age of nearly ninety.

Pacuvius, both in his lifetime and for centuries afterwards, enjoyed the reputation of one of the greatest tragic writers. He translated Greek tragedies, chiefly those of Sophocles, with more or less freedom. Only one of them, the *Antiopa*, was an adaptation of a play of Euripides. We know the titles of twelve of his tragedies, a few of which seem to have been original compositions, and only one, entitled *Paulus*, dealt with a Roman subject. It was formerly believed that Pacuvius also wrote comedies, but there is no evidence to support this opinion. As regards his style, the ancients praise his *ubertas*, probably alluding to his rich and well rounded sentences, for Cicero calls his verses *ornati* and *elaborati*. From the fragments which have been preserved we can still perceive that he had to contend with the harshness and inflexibility of the language, and had recourse to bold compounds and archaïsm to give tragic pathos to his verses. This, of course,

* The best collection and arrangement of the fragments of Ennius is that by J. Vahlen, *Ennianæ Pæsis Reliquiæ*: Leipzig, 1854.

displeased not only the critics of the Augustan age, but is blamed even by Cicero and Quintilian.*

16. **Cæcilius Statius**, a contemporary of Pacuvius, was born about B.C. 219, in the country of the Insubres, a Celtic tribe in the north of Italy. He came to Rome, probably as a prisoner of war and a slave, about B.C. 200. After his emancipation he became the friend of Ennius, whom he survived only by a few years, for he died in B.C. 166. How he got his education and his knowledge of Greek is unknown, but he must have been well acquainted with Greek literature, as he translated many pieces of the new Attic comedy, especially of Menander, adopting at first the style and manner of Plautus; but later on he followed the hel-enising tendency, and became more regular, without, however, sacrificing his own innate force and vigour. His productions met with great applause, and Cicero, who often quotes his verses, says that he was perhaps the greatest of all comic poets. Unfortunately, no complete play of his has come down to us; but from the fragments we have it is clear that his language, though still harsh, was less archaic than that of Pacuvius. Cicero, who otherwise valued him very highly, calls him *malus auctor Latinitatis*; and his language may indeed not have been quite correct, as by his birth he was neither a Greek nor a Roman. His fragments are rather numerous, and we know the titles of at least forty of his comedies, most of which were *palliæte*. They have been collected in O. Ribbeck's *Comicorum Latinorum Reliquiæ*, p. 29, foll.

17. There are a few other writers of *palliæte* belonging to this period, but very little is known about them. One of them is called *Trabea*, of whom we have only two small fragments quoted by Cicero; another is *Atilius*, who acquired the nickname of *Misogynos*, and whose language is called hard; a third, *Licinius Imbrex*, of whom a comedy entitled *Næra* is mentioned; and lastly, *Luscius Lavinius*, who is vehemently attacked in nearly all the prologues to the comedies of Terence. His comedies are described as such faithful translations of the Greek that he retained even such

* The fragments of Pacuvius are collected in A. Ribbeck's *Tragicorum Lat. Reliquiæ*, p. 62, foll.: Leipzig, 1852.

passages as were likely to give offence to the Romans (see O. Ribbeck, as above, p. 71).

18. P. Terentius was born at Carthage (whence he is called *Afer*, i.e., an African), and was brought to Rome at an early age as a slave, having either been bought or captured. His master, a senator Terentius Lucanus, had him educated as a free-born youth, and afterwards gave him his freedom. It was perhaps owing to his African origin that he became acquainted with the younger Scipio Africanus, Lælius, and other illustrious Romans. This connection and friendship gave rise to the gossiping report, got up by jealous rivals, that Scipio or Lælius was the real author of the comedies bearing the name of Terence. After having brought out six plays, the last of which was the *Adelphi*, he went to Greece, apparently for the purpose of study, and on his way back he died, B.C. 159, having scarcely completed his twenty-fifth year. The place of his death is uncertain, for according to some he perished at sea, where his ship was wrecked; while, according to others, he died on land in Arcadia, of a disease aggravated by vexation at the loss by shipwreck of a large number of translations of Greek comedies.

19. The six comedies which Terence composed and brought out upon the Roman stage are still extant, as well as their most important ancient commentators, Donatus and Euphrasius. We also possess the didascalia of the six plays, that is, the official accounts of the time and the circumstances under which they were performed at Rome. The six plays are:—

1. *Andria*, first performed at the *ludi Megalenses* in B.C. 166; it is an adaptation of a comedy of Menander, with additions from another of the same author. The ædile who had the superintendence of the games, when Terence offered his *Andria*, desired him to read it to Cæcilius Statius and obtain his opinion upon it. Cæcilius expressed great admiration of the work, and it was performed. The conclusion of the play exists in two different redactions.

2. *Eunuchus*, likewise made up of two plays of Menander, was first performed at the Megalensian games in B.C. 161; it is one of Terence's best plays, and met with great applause.

3. *Hautontimorumenos*, i.e., the self-torturer, is an imitation of a play of Menander of the same name. It represents an intrigue of a somewhat eccentric kind, and is rather tame; it was first performed at the *ludi Romani* in B.C. 161.

4. *Phormio*, an imitation of a Greek play by Apollodorus of Karystos. Its title is the name of the parasite who acts a chief part in it. The action is exciting, the characters varied and well drawn, and the whole is very lively and amusing. It was performed in the same year as the *Eunuchus* at the *ludi Romani*.

5. *Hecyra*, i.e., the mother-in-law, an imitation of a comedy of Apollodorus, was performed in B.C. 165. This play contains scarcely any action, but consists entirely of clever delineations of character. It was the most unsuccessful of Terence's comedies, for its performance was twice interrupted, and it was only during a third attempt that the audience allowed it to be gone through.

6. *Adelphi*, or the Brothers, was an imitation of a play of the same name by Menander, but in it he introduced a scene from Diphilos. It was performed in B.C. 160 for the second time, and is no doubt the most successful of all Terence's comedies: its plot is simple but well devised, the characters are finely sustained, and the whole is spirited and animated.*

20. All the comedies of Terence are *palliatae*, and the fact that he often combined two plays into one, or introduced in the one scenes from another, seems to show that he was wanting in inventive power: if he had possessed more genius he would have made additions, where wanted, from his own resources. Still, he combined the parts of his originals so skilfully that, without the aid of Donatus, we should be unable to discover them. Terence makes use of his prologues chiefly to defend himself against the attacks of others. The manner in which he used his originals shows that he possessed but small independence of mind, and that he followed them almost slavishly. This is probably the reason why, in the canon of the authors of *palliatae*, only the sixth place was

* The best editions of Terence are those of R. Bentley: Cambridge and London, 1726; and of Westerhovius, Hag. Comit., 1726, containing the commentaries of Donatus and Euphrasius. The best text is that of A. Fleckeisen: Leipzig, 1857.

assigned to him. What distinguishes his works is their correctness and elegance; his characters have neither the freshness nor the strength and animation of those of Plautus, but at the same time have none of the coarseness of Plautus. In short, Terence composed his comedies in a state of perfect dependence on his originals, and according to the strict rules of art which he found to be observed in them; and his object appears to have been to please the higher class of Roman society, rather than the great body of the people. His language is everywhere smooth and elegant, and such as we may suppose to have been employed in ordinary life by the better class of Romans. His versification is more correct and regular than that of Plautus, but less varied and spirited.

21. **Titinius** is the first who confined himself to the composition of togatæ. He belonged to a respectable plebeian family, and was a contemporary of Terence, whom he seems to have survived. We know the titles of fifteen of his comedies, and from the fragments, collected by O. Ribbeck (p. 115, foll.), we see that their character was somewhat coarse, such as would please a popular audience of the time. His freshness and animation remind us of Plautus, but his delineation of character is more regular and methodical, resembling that of Terence.

22. **Turpilius** was likewise a contemporary of Terence, but long survived him. He wrote only palliatæ, and prepared Greek comedies of the middle and new schools for the Roman stage. So far as we can judge from the fragments of his plays, his tone was more animated than that of either Cæcilius or Terence, whom he resembles in his versification; but his language is richer in the popular element. We know the titles of thirteen of his comedies, the majority of which seem to have been imitations of Menander. It is not improbable that Turpilius ceased writing comedies at an early period, as in his time palliatæ appear to have lost their popularity with Roman audiences. (See Ribbeck, as above, p. 73, foll.)

23. **Lucius Attius**, also written Accius, was born in B.C. 170 at Pisaurum, where, in B.C. 184, a Roman colony had been established; his parents were freedmen (*libertini*). There is a story that when Pacuvius had withdrawn to

Tarentum, Attius, who was a little younger, undertook a journey to Asia. On passing through Tarentum he was invited by the older poet, and while staying with him for several days read to him his tragedy of *Atreus*. Pacuvius, on having heard it, remarked that what he had written was indeed sonorous and grand, but that it nevertheless appeared to him a little too hard and severe. "You are right," replied Attius, "and I do not regret it; for I hope that my future productions will be better." He lived on intimate terms with D. Junius Brutus (consul in B.C. 138), who adorned the entrances to temples and monuments with verses of his Attius. We still know the titles of at least thirty-seven tragedies, most of which were modifications of Greek originals, but two of them seem to have been original and independent works, based upon scenes from the *Iliad*. His selection of subjects shows that he well understood the nature of tragedy, and he may without hesitation be regarded as the most talented among the Roman tragic writers. He took for his models especially Æschylus and Sophocles. The tone perceptible in the remains of his works shows that the high estimation of the ancients was well deserved, for they contain evidence of great animation and pathos. He did not confine himself to imitating Greek originals, but also wrote original dramas on Roman subjects (*prætextæ*), such as the self-sacrifice of the younger P. Decius Mus and the story of Brutus the tyrannicide.

Attius also composed other works in verse—

1. *Didascalica*, a sort of history of Greek and Roman poetry, especially of the drama, in trochaic tetrameters.

2. *Pragmaticôn libri*, in the same metre, referred to the history of art.

3. *Parerga*, treating probably of agricultural subjects, and,

4. *Annales*, in at least three books and in the tragic metre. Of their nature we know nothing, except that some mythological subjects were treated of in them.

He appears to have bestowed great attention upon the forms of the language, for he used frequent alliteration, spelt *aggelus* instead of *angelus*, rejected the use of *y* and *z*, indicated the length of vowels by doubling them,

and preferred Greek inflectional terminations to Latin ones.*

24. There are a few other writers of *palliatae* belonging to this period, such as **Juventius**, **Valerius**, **A. Fulvius Labeo**, and **Popillius Lænas**, but very little is known of them. The few fragments of their works which have come down to us are collected in O. Ribbeck's *Comicorum Latinorum Reliquiae*.

B. PROSE WRITERS OF THE SECOND PERIOD.

It has already been remarked that the earliest Roman historians composed their works in Greek. The most important among them are **G. Fabius Pictor** and **L. Cincius Alimentus**.

25. **G. Fabius Pictor** flourished about the time of the second Punic war. During the inroad of the Gauls into Italy, in B.C. 225, he is said to have taken part in the war against them. After the battle of Cannæ, in B.C. 216, he was sent as ambassador to Delphi, to consult the oracle. This is almost all we know of the circumstances of his life. His great work was a history of Rome from the time of *Æneas* down to his own day; as it contained the history of the whole of the second Punic war, the work must have been written after its termination in B.C. 201. It is frequently referred to as an authority by Polybius, Dionysius, Livy, and others; his veracity is not doubted, except that he is censured for having allowed himself occasionally to be led astray by his patriotism. As passages of the work are frequently quoted in Latin, it is probable that a Latin translation of it was made at a later time; but it is doubtful whether this translation was made by the author himself, or by some other member of the *Fabii* gens; perhaps by **Fabius Maximus Servilianus**, who was consul in B.C. 142.†

26. **Cincius Alimentus**, a younger contemporary of **Fabius**

* The fragments of *Attius* are collected in O. Ribbeck's *Tragicorum Latinorum Reliquiae*, p. 114, foll.

† The fragments, both Greek and Latin, are collected in A. Krause's *Vitæ et Fragmenta Veterum Historicorum Romanorum*, p. 33, foll.: Berlin, 1833.

Pictor, was prætor in B.C. 210, when he restored peace in Sicily after the withdrawal of the Carthaginians. He himself stated in his work that he had been taken prisoner by **Hannibal**, perhaps in B.C. 208. He, like **Fabius**, wrote the annals of Rome in Greek, which are often referred to by later writers, and of which a second book is mentioned. He treated the early period very briefly, but in dealing with the history of his own time he was more minute.

Much confusion and uncertainty have been caused by the fact that there was another person of the same name, who lived at a much later time; for under the name of **Cincius Alimentus** are mentioned works *De Fastis*, *De Comitibus*, *De Consulibus Potestate*, *De Officio Jurisconsulti*, *Mystagogica*, *De Re Militari*, and *De Verbis Præcis*; but all these works are manifestly the productions of a learned jurist who lived at a much later period, perhaps a contemporary of **Cicero**, who bore the same name as the annalist. (See **Krause**, as above, p. 63, foll.)

27. Besides these two there are a few others who wrote historical works in Greek, such as—

1. **P. Cornelius Scipio**, a son of the elder **Africanus**, whom **Cicero** mentions as the author of some Greek history, most agreeably written.

2. **C. Acilius Glabrio**, a Roman senator of high rank, wrote in Greek the annals of Rome, from its foundation down to his own time, *i.e.*, about B.C. 194. These annals were afterwards translated into Latin by one **Claudius**. Of both the Greek and the Latin only a few fragments are preserved. (See **Krause**, p. 84, foll.)

28. **M. Porcius Cato**.—Amid the hellenising tendencies which threatened to stifle all attempts to create a national literature, there arose **M. Porcius Cato**, the most determined champion of all that was national in the life and literature of the Romans. He is generally called **Cato the Censor** or **Cato Censorius**, to distinguish him from **Cato Uticensis**, the contemporary of **Cæsar**. He belonged to the plebeian gens *Porcia*, and was born at *Tusculum* in B.C. 234; he obtained the quæstorship in B.C. 204, the ædileship in B.C. 199, the prætorship in the following year, the consulship in B.C. 195, and the censorship, for which he is most celebrated, in B.C. 184.

He lived to a great old age, and died in his ninetieth year, B.C. 149.²

Cato was a most able and uncompromising adversary of the proud aristocracy; he clearly saw what he wanted, and pursued his objects sometimes with resolute straightforwardness and sometimes with cunning; he was of a combative nature and full of natural wit: in short, he was the true type of an ancient Roman. With all this he was exceedingly vain, liking to put his own acts in the most favourable light, and not free from mean selfishness. In politics he was less far-sighted than his patrician opponents, but no one possessed more genuine patriotism than he. Although in his earlier years he professed little respect for writers of any kind, yet he became himself in the end a more voluminous writer than any of his contemporaries, and the real creator of Latin prose. He was, as Quintilian says, at once a great general, a philosopher, an orator, a historian, a lawyer, and well versed in husbandry. He was the first Roman who composed and published works in prose, and those not a few. It is singular that he, the ardent upholder of all that was national, brought to Rome Ennius, the very man who established the taste for Greek literature among the Romans.

29. Cato took a lively interest in all public affairs down to the latest period of his life; and being indefatigable in his opposition to the hellenising tendencies of the time, he had ample opportunities of displaying his talent as an orator. The following is a list of his literary productions:—

1. *Orations*.—If we except the one famous speech of Appius Claudius against Pyrrhus, and a few funeral laudations, Cato's were the first speeches that were written out and published. Cicero knew upwards of 150 of his speeches, and we still know of about eighty, partly from fragments still extant and partly from the mention of the occasions on which they were delivered. These eighty were partly judicial speeches and partly political, being delivered either in the senate or before the assembled people. They were read and studied down to the fourth century of the Christian era. What remains of them shows a great natural eloquence, always suited to the occasion and abounding in playful

mirth, mingled with profound earnestness, self-laudation, and biting sarcasm.*

2. *Origines*.—This is the title of Cato's most important work, in seven books; the first contained the history of the Roman kings, the second and third an account of the origin of the towns and cities of Italy, the fourth the first Punic war, the fifth the second Punic war, and the remaining books were devoted to the subsequent wars down to the year B.C. 149. In his account of the wars (probably those described in the later books) he did not name the generals engaged in them, but only related the occurrences. The title *Origines* probably applied only to the first three books, which may have been published first, and the title was retained when the other books were added at a later time. The work, which is sometimes referred to under the title *Historiæ* or *Annales*, also contained some of the author's speeches. The fragments have been collected by Krause in the work already referred to, p. 98, foll.

3. *Præcepta ad Filium* was the title of a work which Cato wrote for the instruction of his son. His rich and varied experiences enabled him to advise and instruct his son in such matters as agriculture, the laws of health (in which he was opposed to the doctrines of Greek physicians), oratory, military and legal affairs. The work was intended to be a guide to a young Roman in the various relations of life. It is, however, not quite certain whether all the subjects mentioned were treated of in the *Præcepta*, or whether some of them were not discussed in separate treatises. With a similar object he addressed to his son various letters and a work in verse (*carmen*).

4. *Facete Dicta* was a collection of witty and pointed sayings of others. Soon after his death a similar collection of his own witty and wise sayings was made, partly from his writings and partly from the recollection of contemporaries. This collection retained its popularity for many centuries.

5. *De Re Rustica*, i.e., on agriculture, but mainly on the cultivation of the vine and the olive. This is the only one of Cato's works that has come down to us in a com-

* The fragments of his speeches are collected in H. Meyer's *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, p. 11, foll.

plete form. It is properly a manual of instruction about the management of an estate near Casinum and Venafrum, belonging to one L. Manlius. The first part contains systematic instruction on vines and olive plantations, but this is followed by an irregular mass of rules about the management of domestic affairs, some of which are very amusing, about making purchases, about rents, sacrifices, and the cure of diseases. The style of the book is brief and aphoristic, but the language has scarcely the archaic character which we should expect in a work of Cato's, whence it is generally believed that its present form is a more recent or modernised edition of the original.*

30. As the example of publishing speeches had been set by Cato, it was followed by others. The most distinguished orators among his contemporaries, some of whom published their speeches, are—*Fabius Maximus Cunctator*, whose funeral oration on his son was greatly admired by Cicero; *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who published a funeral oration on his father; *M. Cornelius Cethegus*; *P. Licinius Crassus*; the elder *Scipio Africanus*; the father of the celebrated Gracchi; *L. Papirius*, *L. Paulus*, *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, and *C. Tibius*; but no specimens of their oratory are now extant.

Along with oratory the study of the law also began to be zealously cultivated during this period. Among the eminent jurists we may mention—1. *Aelius Sextus*, the first author of a book on law, entitled *Tripertita*, which, among other matters, contained a commentary on the laws of the Twelve Tables. 2. *M. Porcius Cato*, a son of Cato Censorius, who wrote a work, *De Juris Disciplina*, in at least fifteen books. 3. *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, the aristocratic opponent of the elder Cato, published *Fasti* which were set up in the temple of Hercules.

31. History continued to be written in Greek by some down to the time of Sulla, who himself is said to have written memoirs of his life in Greek. Among the historians of this class we have to mention:—

1. *C. Acilius*, who wrote a history of Rome in Greek, apparently from the foundation of the city, down at least to the year B.C. 194. The work was afterwards translated

* The work is printed in M. Gesner's *Scriptores Rei Rusticæ*, Vol. I.

into Latin and continued by *Claudius Quadrigarius* down to the time of the civil wars.

2. *A. Postumius Albinus* likewise wrote a history of Rome, beginning apparently with the earliest times.

3. *P. Scipio Nasica* appears to have written in Greek some work (*ἐπιστολεῖον*) about the war with King Perseus of Macedonia.

It may be mentioned here that the freedman, *Sp. Carvilius*, was one of the first who established a public school at Rome, about B.C. 230. He is said to have introduced the letter *g* and to have rejected the letter *z*. The alphabet he thus arranged contained twenty-one letters.

THIRD PERIOD.

SEVENTH CENTURY AFTER THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY
(FROM ABOUT B.C. 150 TO ABOUT B.C. 80.)

32. During this period Latin literature reached its full development; what the sixth century had prepared the seventh matured and completed. Carthage was destroyed and Greece subdued; crowds of Greeks flocked to Rome and helped to bring about the final victory of Greek manners and modes of thinking over the ancient national life of the Romans: *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit*, as Horace says. Unfortunately, the Romans were not in a condition to judge what was really deserving to be imitated in Greek life and literature, and oftener preferred the bad to the good. The family of the Scipios, where men like Panætius and Polybius were always welcome guests, gathered round it the noblest spirits of the time, who were uncontaminated by the avarice and the other vices which were then beginning to draw all classes into their vortex. But this very separation of intellectual and cultivated society from the rest of the people gave it the character of aristocratic exclusiveness, and prevented its exercising any great influence on the great body of contemporaries. Demoralization accordingly went on increasing, and showed its baneful results in the wars against Numantia and Jugurtha. The rude Marius could make it a boast that he did not understand Greek, which in his time was so generally known that Greek plays were frequently performed at Rome. Roman writers, acknowledging the superiority of Greek literature, endeavoured to imitate its correctness and elegance, and only very few, such as Lucilius, disdained to compete with the Greeks in the smoothness and elegance of their compositions.

Ever since the year B.C. 145 complete Greek theatres were annually erected at Rome of wood, which, when the season was over, could be taken down. The first permanent stone

theatre was built by Pompey in B.C. 55. In poetical literature the composition of dramas still predominated; but as the *palliatae* were rapidly supplanted by *togatæ*, *attellanae*, and mimes, it is clear that popular amusements assumed more and more the character of low and vulgar farces. All other branches of poetry nearly died out; but prose literature, in the form of history, oratory, and jurisprudence, made extraordinary progress. The Latin language, on the whole, retained the character impressed upon it by Ennius, at least so far as literature and the speech of the educated classes were concerned: for the language of common life continued its own ancient ways, and the Saturnian verse kept its ground in the popular amusements intended for the masses of the people.

A. POETS OF THE THIRD PERIOD.

33. The few poets of this period are:—

1. T. Quinctius Atta, of whose life nothing is known, except that he died in B.C. 78, and was buried on the road to Præneste, near the second milestone. Atta and Afranius are the most important writers of *togatæ*; and the subjects of Atta's plays, of which we know the titles of eleven, were all distinctly Roman. The few remaining fragments are marked by a strong national colouring. The ancients praise him for the consistency with which he drew his characters, especially those of females. His plays continued to be performed as late as the time of Augustus. Atta is also mentioned as the author of epigrams in dactylic metre.*

2. L. Afranius, a more important writer of *togatæ* even than Atta, was born about B.C. 144, so that the most active period of his life must have been about B.C. 100. He is remarkable not only on account of the number of his productions, but also on account of their artistic merit. We know upwards of forty titles of his comedies; they maintained their place on the Roman stage as late as the time of Nero, and were read even down to a much later period. His enthusiastic admirers regarded him as equal to Menander.

* The few fragments of his comedies are collected in O. Ribbeck's *Comicorum Lat. Reliquiæ*, p. 137, foll.

Afranius was deeply imbued with Greek culture, but apparently also with its depraved morality. He did indeed take Menander for his model and wrote in his spirit, but confined himself to Roman subjects, chiefly representing the life of the middle classes: his comedies were, in fact, pictures of the family life of the Roman middle classes. His language, as we see from his numerous fragments, combined the vigour and freshness of Plautus with the correctness and elegance of Terence.*

3. **C. Lucilius** was born, in B.C. 148, at Suessa Aurunca in Campania, and belonged to a family of equestrian rank; a sister of his was grandmother of Pompey. While yet very young he accompanied the younger Scipio Africanus in the war against Numantia, and afterwards lived with him and Lælius on terms of intimacy. Such society must have had great influence upon the intellectual development of Lucilius. He lived at Rome in the house built for the son of King Antiochus, who was kept there as a hostage. He was well versed in the literatures of both Rome and Greece, and took a lively interest in everything that was going on around him. That he had many enemies as well as friends is clear from the fragments of his poems which have come down to us; but he maintained his independent spirit amid the busy turmoil and selfishness of his time. He died at Naples in B.C. 103, at the age of forty-six, and was honoured with a funeral at the public expense.

The only work which Lucilius appears to have written was a collection of *Saturæ* or *Satiræ*, in thirty books, most of which were composed in hexameters, but some also in iambic and trochaic metres. In these satires he expressed with great freedom his thoughts upon everything he saw, heard, or read, exercising his criticism upon politics, manners, and literature. He did this with a boldness which neither before nor after him any satirist has ventured to imitate, for he assailed many of his contemporaries by name, and did not scruple to attack the whole city. We know that Ennius had written *saturæ* before him, but as Lucilius is called the inventor of satire, there can be no doubt that his satires

* For the fragments of his plays, see O. Ribbeck's *Comic. Lat. Reliquiæ*, p. 140, foll.

were of an entirely different character from those of Ennius. The fragments we have of the satires of Lucilius show a highly cultivated mind, a keen intellect, moral earnestness, a cheerful disposition, and ready wit; but great indifference as to style and versification, defects which are more than once referred to by Horace, who otherwise recognises in him a great master. Lucilius seems to have composed his satires very hurriedly and in an offhand manner; but notwithstanding their formal defects they were read and enjoyed by many even in the time of Augustus; and at a later period some preferred him to Horace, whom he certainly surpassed in force and originality.*

34. The remaining poets of this period are few, and chiefly authors of erotic epigrams of little value, in imitation of the Alexandrian Greeks. The most noteworthy are **Pompilius, Valerius Ædituus** (of whom two epigrams are still extant), **Porcius Licinius** (some of whose epigrams have been preserved by A. Gellius and Suetonius), and **Q. Lutatius Catulus** (who was consul in B.C. 102). Their remains are collected in Weichert's *Poetarum Lat. Reliquiæ*, p. 348, foll.

The poets, **C. Valerius**, of Sora, hence called **Soranus**, and **C. Julius Caesar Strabo**, who died in B.C. 87, wrote tragedies. Towards the end of this period two poets acquired reputation by transforming the ancient *atellanæ* into a regular branch of comic literature. These were **L. Pomponius** of Bononia and **Novius**. The former, who seems to have been the more original and certainly the more productive, lived about B.C. 90; we have fragments of sixty-five of his *atellanæ*, while of those of Novius we have only forty-three. The remains of both show that they often indulged in coarse and even obscene language to gratify the popular taste of the times.†

B. PROSE WRITERS OF THE THIRD PERIOD.

35. During the first twenty years of this period there was no lack of good orators, the most distinguished among whom were the younger **Scipio Africanus** and his brother **Fabius**

* His numerous fragments have been collected by O. D. Gerlach: Zürich, 1845.

† Their remains are collected in O. Ribbeck's *Comic. Lat. Reliquiæ*, p. 191, foll.

Æmilianus, Sulpicius Galba, M. Lepidus, Furius Philus, and Q. Metellus Macedonicus. Orations of some of them were read and admired by Cicero, and one by Q. Metellus was recited by Augustus in the senate.

During the period of the Gracchi, from B.C. 133 to B.C. 119, oratory had the most splendid opportunities of displaying its powers in the violent party struggles, but no one distinguished himself more than the younger Gracchus, the few specimens of whose eloquence still extant fully justify the admiration they excited at the time. But he was not the only orator; both among his friends and among his foes there were men of unusual powers who made their voices heard.*

36. The historians of the first twenty years of this period still followed the example of the earlier annalists, but they wrote in Latin, as Cato had done. It is astonishing to find that at the very time when a Polybius wrote, Rome had only her annalists or dry chroniclers. The earliest among them were—

1. Cassius Hemina, who wrote a work in at least five books, sometimes called *Historie* and sometimes *Annales*. He seems to have given a minute account of the early history of Rome. The fourth book treated of the second Punic war. The fragments of this, as well as of the other historians, are collected in the work of Krause, already referred to.

2. L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi was a more important writer than Hemina, but, like him, he began with the earliest times and continued the history in seven books down to his own day. He was censor in B.C. 120, and one of the opponents of the Gracchi. His work is praised for its trustworthiness, and the frequent quotations from it by Livy and Dionysius show its author to have been a simple-minded and honest character. His style, however, is not favourably judged of by Cicero. He also appears to have published orations.

3. Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, an eminent jurist, and consul in B.C. 142, is also mentioned as a writer of annals, of which the first book is quoted.

4. Cn. Gellius wrote *annales*, of which a fifteenth book

* Whatever fragments of the orators of those times remain have been collected by Meyer, *Oratorum Rom. Fragmenta*: Zürich, 1842.

is mentioned, and which seems to have been a rather voluminous work.

37. While the writing of history was thus still in its infancy, the study of the law and its exposition were making vast progress, no doubt the result of the many legal questions which arose at the time. The most eminent jurists of the time were M. Manilius, M. Junius Brutus, and especially P. Mucius Scævola, who is supposed to have done away with the ancient custom, according to which the pontifex maximus kept the public annals, because the practice of private persons writing history had rendered that part of the pontiff's duty superfluous. But in order to preserve those ancient records, he is said to have collected them in the form of a book. It may be noticed that Scævola and P. Licinius Crassus, who is praised as the greatest lawyer of his day, sided with the Gracchi.

38. The rapid progress which every branch of practical knowledge made at the time could not fail to have its effects also on the writing of history, and there now appear several men of learning who composed works on the history of their own times. Such men were—

1. Cajus Fannius, a disciple of the Greek philosopher Panætius. He accompanied Tib. Gracchus in the third Punic war, and was quæstor in B.C. 139. He composed an historical work, which, as Cicero says, was not written without elegance, and which is praised for its truthfulness. It consisted of at least eight books, and seems to have treated only of contemporary events, for which reason its loss is to be regretted all the more. On the advice of Cicero, M. Brutus made an abridgement of it.

2. L. Cælius Antipater, a contemporary of the Gracchi, was no doubt the ablest historian of his time. His work consisted of at least seven books, and must have been published after the death of the younger Gracchus. Its main subject seems to have been the second Punic war, and he appears to have touched upon many constitutional questions. He is said to have paid more attention to rhetoric than to law, a charge which is borne out by the remnants of the work we still possess. Livy seems to have made great use of it in his account of the second Punic war.

3. **P. Sempronius Asellio** served as a tribune of the soldiers under Scipio in the war against Numantia. He wrote a work on the history of his own time which consisted of at least fourteen books, the fifth of which contained an account of the death of Tib. Gracchus. From an opinion of his quoted by A. Gellius it appears that he had a far more correct view of what history ought to be than any of his predecessors.

4. **C. Sempronius Tuditanus**, consul in B.C. 129, was a man of a highly cultivated mind, and an elegant writer. His historical work seems to have embraced the early history as well as that of his own time. He is also mentioned as the author of *Libri Magistratum* and other works.

5. **Junius Gracchanus**, an intimate friend of C. Gracchus, whence he obtained the name of Gracchanus. He was an antiquarian rather than an historian, inasmuch as he directed his attention chiefly to constitutional questions. He wrote a work, *De Magistratibus*, addressed to his friend Pomponius, the father of Cicero's friend Atticus. The fragments of this work show that he endeavoured to combine historical investigations with the explanation of words.

Other inquirers about the same time devoted themselves to the elucidation of the early literature of their country. Thus *Lampadio* wrote a commentary on Nævius' poem on the Punic war, and *Q. Vargunteius* one on the annals of Ennius. Grammatical studies had a representative in *L. Actius*. Greek philosophy, especially that of the Stoics, found warm supporters among men of the highest rank, such as *Q. Tubero*, the augur *Q. Scaevola*, and *C. Blossius* of Cumæ, the faithful friend of Tib. Gracchus.

39. The period from the violent suppression of the Gracchi and their party till about B.C. 100, is the time during which *C. Lucilius* and *L. Afranius* displayed their greatest literary activity. Other contemporary writers were *P. Rutilius Rufus*, consul in B.C. 105, and *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, consul in B.C. 102. The former, besides works on law, wrote an account of his own life while he was living in exile at Smyrna. A fifth book is mentioned; and it would seem that the work, originally composed in Latin, was afterwards also published in Greek. *Lutatius Catulus*, besides the erotic epigrams already mentioned, likewise wrote his auto-

biography, and a work entitled *Communis Historia*, in at least four books, which, to judge from the fragments we still possess, seems to have had a Euhemeristic tendency.

Grammatical studies had a most able representative in *L. Ælius Præconinus Stilo*, of Lanuvium, a man of equestrian rank, who may be regarded as the first Roman philologist. He is often called simply *Ælius*, and lived on intimate terms with some of the most influential optimates. He was a follower of the Stoic philosophy, and the first who lectured to a circle of friends on Latin literature and oratory, and laid the foundation of a regular study of the Latin language by commenting on its most ancient monuments. *Varro*, who was one of his pupils, afterwards followed in his footsteps. Among the works he wrote we may notice commentaries on the *Carmina Saliarum* and on the laws of the Twelve Tables. He was an ardent admirer of *Plautus*.

40. The twenty years from B.C. 100 to B.C. 80, a period full of political excitement, produced men of the greatest eminence both in oratory and jurisprudence, two branches which always went hand in hand among the Romans. Historical composition inclined towards a rhetorical character, and was sometimes employed for party purposes.

As regards poetry, it has been already remarked that the old *atellanae* were raised to the rank of dramatic compositions for the amusement of the people. *Cn. Matius* translated the *Iliad* into Latin and composed *mimiambi*, that is, farces in iambics. *Hostius* and *Q. Furius* are mentioned as epic poets, and *Lævius* made a collection of erotic poems called *Erotopaignion Libri*, written apparently in a somewhat lascivious tone, and in the melic metres of the Greeks. The higher kind of poetry was not cultivated, and the only one who is reported to have written tragedies is *L. Julius Caesar*.

Oratory and jurisprudence continued to be cultivated by men of the highest ability, and are represented by *M. Antonius* and *L. Licinius Crassus*, the former of whom charmed his hearers by his natural vivacity, lively imagination, and brilliant delivery; while *Crassus*, though a man of fine intellect, extensive knowledge of the law, ready wit, and elegant language, did not affect his audiences as powerfully as *M. Antonius*. But besides these two, a host of distin-

guished orators and jurists are mentioned whom we need not enumerate, as no complete production of any one of them has come down to us.

41. Among historians the following claim our attention:—

1. **Cn. Aufidius**, who flourished at a period coincident with the boyhood of Cicero. He wrote an historical work in Greek, of which only two fragments are extant, but which seems to have been a history of Rome down to his own time.

2. **Q. Claudius Quadrigarius**, who must have been born about B.C. 150, and seems to have survived the death of Sulla in B.C. 78. Of his life nothing is known, but his history, referred to as *Annales*, *Historiæ*, or *Rerum Romanarum Libri*, consisted of at least twenty-three books, beginning with the capture of Rome by the Gauls and coming down to his own time. In the earlier portion he seems to have been very brief, but he gave more detailed accounts as he approached his own time. He is frequently quoted by Livy, and it appears that he often exaggerated the number of enemies slain in battle. His style and language must in many respects have been old fashioned (Fragments in Krause, p. 243, foll.).

3. **Valerius Antias**, the most voluminous predecessor of Livy, for his history consisted of at least seventy-five books, beginning with the earliest times, of which he treated very minutely, and carrying the history down to the age of Sulla. We know his work chiefly from the numerous references made to it by Livy, who seems, in his earliest books, to have adopted his statements without any misgivings; but in his later books Livy is evidently conscious of his defects, and almost calls him a liar. Valerius was anything but a conscientious or critical historian; his numbers are monstrously exaggerated, and are probably nothing but his own foolish inventions.

4. **L. Cornelius Sisenna**, born about B.C. 119, was prætor in B.C. 78, and died in Crete, in B.C. 67, as legate of Pompey during the war against the pirates. He was both a philosopher and an orator, but distinguished himself most as an historian, and in that capacity he was thought to have surpassed all his predecessors, though his style of writing did not satisfy Cicero. His work, in twelve books, bearing

the title *Historiæ*, gave an account of the Marsic or Social war, and of the civil war between Sulla and Marius; the latter he is said to have added when already advanced in years, but not to have used sufficient freedom in the expression of his opinions. Speeches and letters were introduced in the work. As to his style, he used many archaic and unusual expressions, for which he is frequently quoted by the later grammarians. He also wrote a commentary on Plautus, explaining difficult words and expressions, but what remains of it does not give us a high opinion of him as a grammarian. Lastly, he translated the lascivious tales (*Milesiaca*) of Aristides, which he seems to have divided into fifteen books.

5. **C. Licinius Macer**, the father of the poet and orator, Licinius Calvus, was a contemporary and friend of Sisenna. He was quæstor in B.C. 89 and afterwards prætor. He was accused by Cicero of extortion during the administration of his province, and being found guilty, he put an end to his own life. His historical work, called *Annales*, *Rerum Romanarum Libri*, or *Historiæ*, is blamed by Cicero for verbosity and quibbling, while others thought that he had not been sufficiently careful in his inquiries; but it is quite evident, from the manner in which he is referred to by Livy, that he consulted at least the historical documents of Rome, such as the *Libri Lintei*. His work began with the earliest times, but we do not know of how many books it consisted, nor how far it carried the history. Livy's last mention of him refers to the year B.C. 299, but from this it does not follow that Macer stopped there.

6. **L. Cornelius Sulla**, the dictator, wrote in Latin (some say in Greek) an account of his own life in twenty-two books, dedicated to Lucullus, but shortly after he had commenced the last book he died. The work was, however, completed by his freedman, Epicadus. We now possess only a few fragments of it, but Plutarch, in his life of Sulla, seems to have made extensive use of it.

7. **L. Licinius Lucullus**, who was consul in B.C. 74, and a man famous for his wealth and his intellectual tastes, wrote a history of the Marsic war in Greek, of which no fragments are extant.

8. **C. Piso** is mentioned as the author of a Greek work on the civil war between Sulla and Marius, but no fragments of it are extant, nor do we know which of the Piso family is meant.

9. **L. Voltacilius Pilitus** is said to have been a slave, and to have been set free on account of his talent and his fondness of literature. He afterwards established himself at Rome as a teacher of rhetoric, and became the instructor of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey. He is mentioned as the author of a history of Pompey and his father, and, if so, he was the first freedman who undertook to write on a subject of Roman history. No fragments of his work are known.

42. It is about the beginning of the first century B.C. that we hear of several schools, both at Rome and in other parts of Italy, being established for the purpose of teaching grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. Most of the men who established such schools, and whose names are preserved in Suetonius' work, *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, were freedmen and foreigners. Some of them also published books, as, for example, *Aurelius Opilius*, who wrote grammatical works that were much used by Varro in his *De Lingua Latina*, and by Festus.

The same period produced works on agriculture, on the management of domestic affairs, and even on cookery, which are spoken of by later writers on the same subjects, such as Varro and Columella.

Philosophy does not appear to have been much cultivated, though it would seem that orators generally adopted the views of the new Academy and the Peripatetics, while the great lawyers generally professed the doctrines of the Stoa. Men who did not take part in public affairs found more satisfaction in the teaching of the Epicureans.

43. There is a work on rhetoric which, from some allusions occurring in it, must have been written during the dictatorship of Sulla or shortly after his death. It bears the title of *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium*, and consists of four books. It used to be printed together with the rhetorical works of Cicero, but a passage in Quintilian leaves very little doubt of its being the work of Cornificius, though it is uncertain

which of the Cornificii mentioned about this time is meant. The work contains a complete system of rhetoric, based upon Greek authorities, but its author, as a practical Roman, discards all the useless technicalities abounding in Greek works. The subject is treated with great clearness and independence of judgment. Cicero, in his work *De Inventione*, has almost literally copied several passages, and altogether adopted the system and method of Cornificius. During the middle ages the work was much read and often copied.*

* The best modern edition is that of C. L. Kayser: Leipzig, 1854.

FOURTH PERIOD.

THE AGE OF CICERO AND AUGUSTUS (FROM ABOUT B.C. 80 TO ABOUT A.D. 14).

44. This may be called the golden age of Latin literature, in regard to its form as well as to its substance. During the first half of the period, that is, the age of Cicero, prose reached its highest perfection, while poetry produced its noblest blossoms in the time of Augustus. The time from the dictatorship of Sulla down to the battle of Actium, was as full of political excitement as any that preceded it. Consequently, oratory and political literature continued to predominate, but oratory in particular assumed a more artistic form under the influence of Greek culture. The number of men who, like Varro, still tried to preserve the national character in life and literature, was reduced to a very small minority; the current of Greek influence was irresistible. Greeks were found in all the houses of the great and wealthy as teachers, readers, secretaries, or companions, and many of these were mean flatterers, bent upon gratifying their masters and securing to themselves an easy and luxurious life, whence the very name Greek (*Græculus*) was used as a term of contempt. It became more and more the custom with young Romans of rank and means to spend some time at Athens, Rhodes, or Mytilene, for the purpose of studying rhetoric and philosophy. Great masses of Greek literature and works of Greek art had been brought into Italy since the subjugation of Greece; and when Athens was taken by Sulla, in B.C. 86, the valuable library of Apellico, containing a complete set of Aristotle's works, was carried to Rome. But the Romans now, as before, did not choose the great classical authors of Hellas for their models, but were more fascinated by the demoralising productions of more recent times. Thus the orators did not take Demosthenes for their guide, but the florid rhetoricians of Asia Minor; and the

poets followed the Alexandrian poetasters rather than the grand old masters, simply because they were charmed by their polished language and style.

45. But notwithstanding all this, the better spirits of the Romans soon discovered wherein the great excellence of the Greeks lay, and were thus enabled to produce works that may be compared with the master works of Greek genius. Such works cannot indeed conceal their Roman origin, which is visible partly in their practical tendency and partly in the absence of refinement in style and diction. But still the form of literature, which until then had been regarded as of little or no importance, provided its matter was practically useful, now began to display a richness and variety which could not fail to make it popular and valued for its own sake, and indeed so much so, that at one time refined forms and elegance of language were thought more valuable even than the thoughts expressed.

46. The branch of literature which flourished most throughout the time of Cicero was oratory, in which the practical and energetic spirit of the Romans was tempered by artistic principles developed by Greek rhetoricians. Hortensius was a striking example of what Roman talent alone could do, but what talent combined with careful training and the study of principles could effect, no one has shown more clearly than Cicero, and he it was who established once for all the highest standard and most perfect form of Latin prose. This change in the form of oratory was brought about by the careful study of the principles laid down by Greek rhetoricians, and by applying them to the wants and necessities of the Romans.

Political discussions and historical and antiquarian researches, of which Varro furnished the most splendid examples, also engaged the pens of many men of eminence. Education was now felt to be a matter of necessity in every part of Italy, but the teachers, the pioneers of civilization, still were for the most part freedmen of Greek origin. The same men also diffused a taste for philosophical discussion; but speculation was at no time a favourite pursuit among the Romans, and very few entered deeply into philosophical questions. The only philosophical works produced during this period are those of the poet Lucretius and of Cicero.

De rerum natura.

47. Poetry for a long time played a very subordinate part during this period, but only to reappear afterwards with all the greater brilliancy and in the most varied forms. The drama alone was not cultivated; the poets trained in the schools of the Greeks seem to have disdained to contribute to the popular amusements, and to have preferred to imitate the Alexandrians, who, wanting in poetical genius, attached the greatest importance to correctness and elegance of style. The Roman stage, therefore, had to be content with reproducing the tragedies and comedies of the older poets. The only scenic poetry which received a new development was the *mimus*, which, through Laberius and Publilius Syrus, became a regular branch of dramatic literature.

It must be borne in mind that, after the Marsic war, when the Roman franchise was conferred upon the Italians, and still more when Cisalpine Gaul obtained the same privileges, what originally had been Roman or Latin literature became the literature of Italy. Men of talent from every part of the country now went to the head and centre of civilization, and, coming from parts that were yet uncontaminated by the vices and follies of the capital, they no doubt exercised a salutary influence.

During the first part of the fourth period of Latin literature, Cicero is the central figure, around which his contemporaries may be grouped. The time is so rich in men of eminence that it will be convenient to subdivide the Ciceronian era into two parts, the year of Cicero's consulship, B.C. 63, forming a kind of turning point; the first part extends from B.C. 83 to B.C. 63, and the second from B.C. 63 to B.C. 43.

A. FROM THE DICTATORSHIP OF SULLA TO THE CONSULSHIP OF CICERO.

48. By far the most important and most productive writer of this period, both in prose and verse, next to Cicero, is

M. Terentius Varro. He was born in B.C. 116 at Reate, in the country of the Sabines, and was accordingly ten years older than Cicero. He belonged to an ancient senatorial family, and was brought up in the simple and hardy manner which distinguished the Sabines from the luxurious Romans, and received instruction from Philo. He belonged to the party of the

optimates, and became an intimate friend of Pompey, Atticus, and Cicero. In due course he obtained the tribuneship of the plebs, the curule ædileship, and prætorship. He served as legate under Pompey in the wars against the pirates and against Mithradates. In the former he distinguished himself so much that Pompey honoured him with a *corona navalis*. In B.C. 49 he served in Spain with Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey; but as one of his legions revolted he surrendered to Cæsar, and on account of his great learning was appointed by him librarian of the public library which was about to be established at Rome. Henceforth he took no active part in public affairs. M. Antony, who had confiscated one of his estates, was compelled by Cæsar to restore it; but he afterwards seized it again, and, in B.C. 43, caused his name to be entered in the list of proscribed persons. His life was indeed saved by a friend, but a portion of his rich library and his extensive landed property were lost. Thenceforth he lived in retirement, devoting himself entirely to literary pursuits, until the year B.C. 28, when he died, having reached his ninetieth year.

49. Notwithstanding the active part he had taken in public affairs during his earlier years, he had from the first turned his attention chiefly to literary and historical studies. Varro was a genuine patriot, a man of unblemished character, who enjoyed the confidence of all parties and did all he could to keep up the ancient national spirit. As an author he showed the most marvellous fertility, and wrote upon the most varied subjects, both in prose and in verse. Although a strong upholder of everything that was national, he did not neglect Greek culture, but he seems to have been little concerned about beauty or elegance in his own works. The number of books he wrote is computed, perhaps by himself, at 620, which belonged to 74 distinct works; but, unfortunately, those works which would give us the clearest idea of the man and his time are lost, and of very many we only know the titles. Only two of them have come down to our time, and even these not without many defects and mutilations.

50. The poetical works of Varro were, for the most part, produced during his earlier years. Among them are men-

tioned *Pseudotragediæ* in six books, and especially *Saturæ Menippeæ* in 150 books, written partly in prose and partly in verse. They were called Menippeæ, because Varro imitated the Greek Cynic Menippus, whose writings seem to have been of a humorous character, intended to produce laughter and merriment. The fragments of Varro's bear out this character, for they show sometimes a playful humour, while at other times he strongly censures his contemporaries for abandoning the simplicity and honesty of their forefathers. Hence they must, in many respects, have resembled the satires of Lucilius and Horace. Their metres also appear to have been of various kinds, though iambic senarii predominated.* He also composed lyric poems in ten books.

51. His prose works were of the most varied kind, embracing nearly every department of human knowledge, orations, political and literary history, antiquities, jurisprudence, philosophy, grammar, geography, agriculture, etc. In all this variety of subjects his attention was mainly directed towards the affairs of Rome and Italy, that is, all bore a truly national character. This peculiarity secured to his works a great influence, not only among his contemporaries, but also among succeeding generations, as is clear from the fact that several of the Christian fathers, especially St. Augustine, frequently refer to his works. But afterwards they seem to have fallen into utter oblivion, if we except the two works still extant. They may be classified as follows:—

52. 1. *Works on History and Antiquities.*—The most important among these were—

a. *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum*, in forty-one books, twenty-five of which were devoted to human affairs. They were addressed to Julius Cæsar as pontifex, and seem to have been intended to check the general decay of the national religion.†

b. *Annales* in three books, probably a short summary of Roman history.

* The remains of Varro's *Saturæ Menippeæ* have been collected by A. Riese; Leipzig, 1865.

† The fragments of this work are collected by R. Merkel in his introduction to Ovid's *Fasti*.

c. *De vita Populi Romani*, in four books, addressed to Atticus, seems to have been a kind of history of Roman civilization.*

d. *De gente Populi Romani*, in four books, was an attempt to harmonise Roman chronology with that of general history, and thus to establish the historical pedigree of the Roman people.

e. *De familiis Trojanis*, in several books, contained the genealogies of Roman patrician families claiming to be descended from Æneas.

f. *Aetia (Atria)*, contained explanations of customs in the private life of the Romans.

g. *Rerum Urbanarum libri tres*, perhaps a history of the city of Rome and its topography.

All these works seem to have been more or less detailed discussions of points touched upon in his *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum*.

53. 2. Works on Literature and Literary History.—

Among the numerous works on literary subjects, the most important were probably those on dramatic literature, and especially on Plautus. A work entitled *Imaginum libri XV.* (also called *Hebdomades*), was a biographical picture-book, containing 700 portraits of Greek and Roman celebrities, each portrait being accompanied by a brief practical eulogy of the person represented. Varro himself seems afterwards to have published an abridged edition, probably without the portraits.

A work called *Disciplinarum libri IX.*, was the first encyclopædic production among the Romans. It was a manual of what were called the nine liberal arts among the ancients, viz., grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astrology, music, medicine, and architecture. As each of these subjects was treated of briefly, it seems that afterwards Varro wrote special and more detailed treatises on some of them.

All these works, those in verse as well as those in prose, as we have already remarked, seem to have fallen into

* The fragments of this work have been collected by Kettner: Halle, 1863.

oblivion after the sixth century of the Christian era. There still exists a collection of maxims and wise sayings, entitled *Sententiæ Varronis*, about 160 in number. They may indeed contain some sayings extracted from the works of Varro; but most of them are of uncertain origin, and seem to be a compilation made by some obscure grammarian of the eighth century after Christ.

54. Of all the works of Varro the only two that have come down to our time are:—

1. *De Lingua Latina*, which originally consisted of twenty-five books, but is now in a very incomplete and mutilated condition. We possess only books 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10; but even of these 6, 8, and 10 are defective at the end, and 7 and 9 at the beginning. The text of what we have is further much corrupted and interpolated. From the fifth book onward the work was dedicated to Cicero, whence this part cannot have been written later than B.C. 43. The first part of the whole work treated of etymology, the second of declension and conjugation, and the third of syntax. All the extant parts are to us of very great importance; they contain not only the results of Varro's own studies in antiquarian and linguistic matters, but also those of others, and give us information on subjects which only a Roman could know. On etymological questions, like the rest of the Romans, Varro's opinions are of little value, and sometimes very arbitrary. But we ought not to blame him for not knowing what he could not know.*

2. *De Re Rustica*, or *Rerum Rusticarum libri tres*, is preserved entire, except a gap at the beginning of the second book. The first book treats of agriculture, the second of the breeding of cattle, and the third of fowls and fishes. This work, which appears to have been one of Varro's latest, must have been written about B.C. 37, and contains the observations gathered during his long and active life. It is composed in the form of dialogues, resembling those of Cicero's philosophical writings; but Varro's scenery and action is more

* * The best editions of the *De Lingua Latina* are those of L. Spengel: Berlin, 1826; and of C. O. Müller: Leipzig, 1833. The Bipont edition, in two vols., contains a fair collection of the fragments of all Varro's works.

animated, and he indulges in homely and good-natured wit. The style of this work, as that of *De Lingua Latina*, is simple and unadorned.*

55. The most celebrated orator among the older contemporaries of Cicero was Q. Hortensius, born in B.C. 114; he held successively the offices of ædile, prætor, and consul, and died young, in B.C. 40, of a disease of the throat. He belonged to the party of the optimates. He was endowed with extraordinary powers of memory, and this, together with his exquisite delivery and choice of graceful language, placed him for a time at the head of all contemporary orators, until he was eclipsed by Cicero, who was eight years younger. Hortensius always behaved kindly towards his great rival, and acknowledged his superiority. His speeches when read were not as effective as when spoken. He delivered a countless number, some of which he published, and we still know of twenty-six occasions on which he spoke in public. He also wrote on questions connected with oratory, and a work called *Annales*, and several erotic poems.†

Contemporary orators of inferior reputation were—M. Licinius Crassus, triumvir with Cæsar and Pompey; L. Licinius Lucullus, M. Pupius Piso, Pompey, and others, most of whom published speeches.

56. During the first period of Cicero's life, Rome could boast of no writer of eminence, either in history or philosophy. The best known among those who occupied themselves with history is Cicero's friend T. Pomponius Atticus, born in B.C. 109, and belonging to a wealthy equestrian family. He took no active part in public affairs, and is chiefly known through his connection with other men, especially with Cicero, and through the eulogistic biography by Cornelius Nepos. His friends praised him much for having written a small book, called *Annalis*, which seems to have been a meagre synchronistic history of Rome in the form of chronological tables, drawn up with great care and accuracy. Atticus also wrote an account of Cicero's consulship in Greek,

* The best editions are those in J. M. Gesner's and Schneider's collections of the *Scriptores Rei Rusticæ*.

† The fragments of Hortensius are collected in H. Meyer's *Oratorum Rom. fragmenta*, p. 361, foll.

and laudatory verses which were to be written under the images of illustrious Romans.

Other writers of historical works, of which however little or nothing is known, were *Procilius*, *Hortensius* (see p. 61), *Luceius*, *Sulpicius*, *L. Tuber*, and a few others.

There were some men who, before Cicero's endeavours to popularise Greek philosophy among the Romans, tried to explain the doctrines of the Epicureans to their countrymen, as *Amatinius*, *Rabirius*, and *Catius*; but they simply stated the views of Epicurus, without any opinions of their own, and without any regard to style. Cicero speaks of them with something like contempt.

The study of the law and its principles, on the other hand, made immense progress, and the teachings and writings of such men as *C. Aquilius Gallus*, a worthy disciple of the pontifex, *Q. Scævola*, and *Ser. Sulpicius Rufus*, exercised an influence upon the study of law which was felt for centuries.

57. *M. Tullius Cicero** was born, in B.C. 106, on his father's estate, near Arpinum, and belonged to an equestrian family. Together with his brother, Quintus, he was educated at Rome, where at an early age he had opportunities of listening to the most distinguished orators, rhetoricians, and philosophers. In his seventeenth year he attached himself, according to the common practice of the time, to an eminent lawyer, the augur *Scævola*, in order to prepare himself under his guidance for public business. After the death of the augur, he joined the pontifex *Scævola*. Besides his legal and rhetorical pursuits, he also studied philosophy, and it may be that his connection with the Greek poet Archias led him to court the muse of poetry.

Thus prepared, he entered, at the age of twenty-five, upon the career of an orator, or as we should say, of a barrister. In the following year he defended Quintus in a private suit. When he was twenty-seven years old, B.C. 80, he defended Sex. Roscius of Ameria, who was accused of having murdered his own father. All the young man's friends declined to undertake his defence from fear of the all-power-

* For a full account of the life of Cicero, see Con. Middleton's or W. Forsyth's *Life of Cicero*; the latter was published in London, 1864.

ful dictator, Sulla, one of whose favourites was compromised in the affair; but Cicero boldly undertook it, and saved his client. The speech has many defects like that for Quintus; but is nevertheless a noble monument of his moral courage. After this he travelled for three years in Greece and Asia Minor, perhaps on account of his health, everywhere seeking instruction from orators, rhetoricians, and philosophers. His studies during that journey had its influence upon his whole career as an orator, for in his speeches he blends the flowery character of Asiatic oratory with the sober and earnest one of the Athenian orators and philosophers.

After his return to Rome he was elected quæstor, in B.C. 75, and was sent to Sicily in that capacity; in B.C. 72 he became curule ædile, in B.C. 66 prætor urbanus, and in B.C. 63 consul, the highest dignity that his country had to offer, although he was only a *novus homo*. The suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy during his consulship afforded his enemies a welcome pretext for attacking him through the person of Clodius; the consequence was that, in B.C. 58, he had to go into exile, during which he stayed principally at Thessalonica and Dyrrachium. But in the following year he was allowed to return, and was received with the greatest honours by his countrymen. In B.C. 51 he was sent out as proconsul to undertake the administration of the province of Cilicia. On his return to Rome, in the following year, the feud between Pompey and Cæsar had already broken out. After having in vain counselled peace, he joined Pompey in B.C. 49 at Dyrrachium, where he remained during the time of the decisive battle of Pharsalus in B.C. 48. After this he went to Brundisium, waiting for the return of victorious Cæsar, and hoping to be permitted to return to Rome. This being granted, he spent the years B.C. 46 and 45 in retirement, devoting his time to writing a great variety of works. His literary activity during those two years is truly marvellous. The murder of Julius Cæsar, in B.C. 44, drew Cicero again into the arena of public life. His attacks on M. Antony in his Philippic speeches brought upon him the implacable enmity of M. Antony, who, in B.C. 43, caused his name to be put upon the proscription list. He was killed on the 7th of December of the same year,

58. Few men have been so extravagantly praised and so extravagantly blamed as Cicero; for while some recent writers seem to find a pleasure in denying to him every virtue, except a clever mastery over his own language, earlier critics, captivated by the charms and beauties of his style, have placed him even above Plato and Demosthenes.

Cicero was endowed by nature with great and varied gifts, which he strove to cultivate with indomitable zeal. He was always aiming at what was good and honourable, and he may certainly claim our respect and admiration, if we compare him with most men of his time, who aimed at nothing beyond gratifying their own selfishness and their desire to accumulate wealth. But he was of an extremely sensitive nature, which was deeply hurt and offended when he met what he considered undeserved opposition or ingratitude. His excitable imagination and his fine feelings made him a great orator and a lovable man; but these same feelings made him irritable, and as easily elated as he was easily depressed. Such a character made it impossible for him to be a great statesman, and unfortunately he did not possess sufficient self-knowledge to be aware of this, or not sufficient resignation to act accordingly. He always had the best intentions, but lacked the calmness of judgment, the sagacity to discern the right and the wrong, and the courage and perseverance requisite to carry out his intentions. Hence he found himself at times sought after, courted, and made use of, and at other times neglected and forsaken. He tried to steer between contending parties, and found himself forsaken by both. We have already seen that occasionally he showed great moral courage where others shrunk from committing themselves, but at other times he trembled at the prospect of approaching danger. In fact, his character seems to have been wanting in unity and consistency. The vanity with which he is so often charged was only the result of his sensitive and finely-strung nature, and is more or less discernible in all similar characters. Lastly, we must not forget that Cicero, in his extensive correspondence with intimate friends, lays himself unreservedly open to us, and shows us his inmost thoughts and feelings with the utmost frankness and candour; and we may fairly ask, in what light would his

great contemporaries appear, if their correspondence had come down to us as complete as that of Cicero? We believe that none of them would be found equal to him in integrity and moral worth. If, therefore, we cannot regard Cicero as a great, strong, and model character, we must admit that there are many circumstances and many reasons which ought to make us judge of him leniently.

59. Cicero possessed the wonderful power of reproducing, in easy and flowing language, whatever he knew or learned; and by this means he has enriched Latin literature with several new branches, and has become the creator of a Latin prose which, in point of fullness, beauty, and correctness, has never been surpassed, and has become the model for all succeeding ages. But the very facility and the pleasure he had in writing was not without its dangers; he seems occasionally to have exercised his power of literary composition without having gone through the necessary study and preparation. This defect is visible especially in the numerous works he produced during the two years preceding the murder of Cæsar.

His real vocation and his real talent was that of an orator, and to this department belong his most brilliant productions. Most of the speeches which he delivered were carefully prepared and afterwards revised and published. His extraordinary command of language, which always supplied him with the right words at the right moment, his great power of memory, his wit, his sonorous voice and dignified appearance, enabled him to eclipse all his contemporaries as an orator, and to gain a reputation which places him second only to Demosthenes. This pre-eminence he attained by his indefatigable endeavours to reach the highest perfection, for every success was to him only a stimulus to fresh exertions to attain a still greater success.

The works of Cicero must be classified as follows:—

A. ORATIONS.

60. We still possess fifty-seven orations, and fragments of about twenty others; to these must be added thirty-three, of which we know at least that they were delivered, and some laudations which were only written, viz., one on Cæsar, in

B.C. 56; one on the younger Cato, in B.C. 46; and one on Cato's sister, Porcia, in B.C. 45. The following is a chronological list of Cicero's extant orations:—

1. *Pro Quintio*, delivered in B.C. 81 (see p. 62).

2. *Pro Sext. Roscio Amerino*, delivered in B.C. 80 (see p. 62).

3. *Pro Q. Roscio Comædo*, commonly supposed to have been delivered in B.C. 76. C. Fannius Chærea had intrusted to the actor Roscius a slave, to be instructed in the histrionic art, on condition that afterwards the earnings of the slave should be divided between the owner and the teacher of the slave. The slave, however, was killed by one Flavius, who paid compensation first to Roscius and afterwards to Fannius. The dispute to which the speech refers is the fair division of the compensation.

4. *Pro M. Tullio*, delivered, in B.C. 72 or 71, before a court of *reciperatores*. The subject is a complaint in the name of Tullius against a neighbour, P. Fabius, one of Sulla's veterans, who had destroyed a country house of Tullius in the neighbourhood of Thurii.

5. *Divinatio in Cæcilium*, delivered in B.C. 70. In this speech Cicero claims and establishes his right to come forward as accuser of Verres, on account of his misdeeds as prætor of Sicily, in opposition to Q. Cæcilius Niger, whom Verres himself would have preferred as accuser, because he considered him quite harmless.

6-11. *Orations against Verres* belong to the year B.C. 70. They consist of two *actiones*, the first of which was delivered in the month of August as a mere introduction to the real accusation. The rich materials which Cicero had gathered from witnesses and documentary evidence he afterwards elaborated in the five books of the *actio secunda*, when the culprit had already been condemned. These speeches, therefore, were written out, but not delivered. The titles of the five books sufficiently indicate the subject treated of in each, viz., *De Prætura Urbana*, *De Jurisdictione Siciliensi*, *De Frumento*, *De Signis*, and *De Suppliciis*. The orator, of course, speaks as if judgment had not yet been passed upon Verres, and as if he could still influence the minds of the judges.*

* There is a good edition of the Verrine orations, with an excellent commentary by Geo. Long, 2nd Edition: London, 1862.

12. *Pro Fonteio*, delivered in B.C. 69; a defence of Fonteius against the charge of maladministration (*repetundæ*). This speech has not come down complete.

13. *Pro Cæcina* also belongs to the year B.C. 69, and was delivered before *reciperatores*. It refers to a disputed inheritance.

14. *De Imperio Cn. Pompei*, sometimes called *Pro Lege Manilia*, is a splendid speech, delivered in B.C. 66, when Cicero was prætor, in support of a bill proposed by C. Manilius, tribune of the plebs, who proposed that the command against Mithradates should be given to Pompey. Cicero's praise of Pompey is somewhat overdone.

15. *Pro A. Cluentio Habito* is a defence of a prisoner, and belongs to the year B.C. 66.*

16-18. Three speeches, *De Lege Agraria*, against P. Servilius Rullus. They are the first speeches delivered by Cicero in his consulship, B.C. 63. In them he combats the reckless proposal of the tribune Servilius Rullus, to appoint a commission of ten men, with unlimited power, for the purpose of purchasing and distributing lands in Italy. The first of these speeches was delivered in the senate on the 1st of January; only the last part of it has come down to us. The second and third were addressed to the people. A fourth speech also is mentioned, but it is lost.†

19. *Pro C. Rabirio*, who was accused of *perduellio*, also belongs to the year of Cicero's consulship, B.C. 63.

20-23. Four speeches *In L. Catilinam*, the well-known conspirator. The first of them was delivered in the senate on the 7th of November, B.C. 63, and in it Cicero boldly attacks Catiline, and shows that he is acquainted with all his proceedings. The second was delivered on the day following to the people, whom Cicero informs of Catiline's sudden departure, and of what had taken place in the senate. The third was addressed to the people on the 3rd of December, and told them of the arrest of the conspirators who had remained in the city. The fourth was addressed to the

* There is a good edition of this speech with commentary by W. Ramsay: Glasgow, 1858.

† A good edition of these speeches, with commentary, was published by A. W. Zumpt: Berlin, 1861.

senate on the 5th of December, during the discussion as to what punishment should be inflicted on the prisoners. Cicero inclines to the opinion that they should be put to death.

24. *Pro L. Murena* was delivered in B.C. 63, about the same time that Cicero attacked Catiline. It is a defence of Murena, consul-elect, who was accused of bribery. The speech is excellent, composed in a playful tone, and full of witty allusions to jurisprudence and the Stoic philosophy.*

25. *Pro Cornelio Sulla* belongs to B.C. 62, and is a very successful defence of Sulla against the charge of having been an accomplice in the Catilinarian conspiracy.

26. *Pro Archia*, delivered in B.C. 62, is a defence of the poet Archias, who was accused of having illegally usurped the rights of a Roman citizen.

27. *Pro Valerio Flacco*, delivered in B.C. 59, a successful defence of Flaccus, who had been accused by D. Lælius of extortion.

28-31. Four speeches, *Post Reditum*, that is, after his return from exile. In the first the orator thanks the senate, in the second he thanks the people, while in the third he addresses the pontiffs (*de domo sua ad pontifices*), trying to prove to them that the consecration by Clodius of the place on which his house had stood was invalid, and that therefore he had a right to reclaim it. These three speeches belong to the month of September, B.C. 57. The fourth, *De haruspicum responsis*, belonging to B.C. 56, was occasioned by the declaration of the haruspices that what was sacred had been disregarded, a remark which Clodius had referred to the rebuilding of Cicero's house, but which Cicero now applied to Clodius.

32. *Pro P. Sestio*, delivered in B.C. 56, is a splendid defence of Sestius against the charge of violence (*vis*); Cicero dwells more upon himself and the party of the optimates than upon the case of his client.

33. *In P. Vatinius*. This speech, which was delivered in the same year as that for Sestius, was also closely connected with it, for Vatinius had come forward as a witness against Sestius.

* A good edition of this speech, with a very full commentary, was published by A. W. Zumpt: Berlin, 1859.

34. *Pro M. Caelio*, also delivered in B.C. 56, is a speech of great interest as regards the state of morality at Rome; it is full of cutting wit, especially directed against the notorious Clodius, who was the accuser of Cælius.

35. *De Provinciis Consularibus*, delivered towards the end of May, B.C. 56; the object was to induce the senate to prolong to Julius Cæsar the administration of Gaul.

36. *Pro L. Balbo* belongs to the same year, and is a defence of Balbus, an intimate friend of Cæsar, against the charge of having illegally assumed the rights of a Roman citizen.

37. *In L. Pisonem* belongs to the year B.C. 55, and was delivered in the senate. This speech has come down to us in a mutilated form, the beginning being wanting. The descriptions it contains are sometimes disgusting.

38. *Pro Cn. Plancio*, delivered in B.C. 54, is a defence of Plancius against the charge of bribery.

39. *Pro C. Rabirio Postumo* belongs to the same year, and is a defence of Rabirius against the charge of extortion, which was in all probability only too well founded.

40. *Pro T. Annio Milone*, a defence of Milo, who had killed Clodius. The speaker tries to show that the killing of Clodius was justifiable as an act of self-defence. The event took place in B.C. 52, but the speech which we now have is not the one that was actually delivered and failed in its object, but one which was afterwards carefully composed and written. It is one of the finest of Cicero's speeches.

41. *Pro M. Marcello* delivered, in B.C. 46, in the senate, and addressed to Julius Cæsar, begging him to allow his old opponent, Marcellus, to return to Rome.

42. *Pro Q. Ligario*, delivered in the same year and with the same object, for Ligarius too was living in exile, and Cicero implores Cæsar to permit him to return to Rome.

43. *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, delivered, in B.C. 45, in the house of Julius Cæsar, in defence of the Galatian king, Deiotarus, who was charged with having made an attempt on the life of Cæsar when he was in Asia Minor.

44-57. Fourteen *Orationes Philippicæ*, delivered in the years B.C. 44 and 43. They are speeches against M. Antony, and are called *Philippicæ* because of their resemblance to the

speeches which Demosthenes had delivered at Athens against King Philip of Macedonia.

The first was delivered in the senate on the 2nd of September, and in it Cicero excuses himself for having kept aloof for so long a time from public affairs, but complains of an attack having been made upon him by M. Antony. When the latter, offended at this remark, made a speech on the 19th, in which he reviewed the whole political career of Cicero, who was absent from the senate on the occasion, Cicero prepared a reply, which, however, he did not publish till M. Antony had left Rome, though it is composed as if it had been delivered immediately after the speech of Antony in the senate. This is the second Philippic.

The third, delivered on the 20th of December, proposes that the senate should praise and thank D. Brutus and Octavianus for having opposed the consul M. Antony. This was done, and Cicero on the same day addressed the people (the fourth Philippic), explaining to them what had been decreed by the senate. The fifth, delivered on the 1st of January, B.C. 43, proposes to the senate to confer honours upon the opponents of M. Antony, and to declare him a public enemy. The first of these proposals was adopted, but, instead of the second, it was resolved that an attempt should be made to effect a peaceful reconciliation. Cicero on the same day (the 4th of January) communicated the resolution to the people in his sixth Philippic. In the seventh, delivered about the end of January, Cicero again urges the necessity of declaring war against Antony. The advice was taken; but as the measures adopted seemed insufficient to Cicero, he delivered in the beginning of February his eighth Philippic, blaming the measures taken and proposing more effective and definite steps. The ninth contains fresh attacks upon Antony, and proposes honourable distinctions for Ser. Sulpicius. The tenth proposes to the senate to sanction the proceedings of M. Brutus in Macedonia and Greece. The eleventh, delivered in March, proposes, though ineffectually, that the punishment of Dolabella, who had put to death C. Trebonius, one of the murderers of Cæsar, should be intrusted to C. Cassius, likewise one of the murderers of Cæsar. It had been resolved to send a deputation to Antony, of which

Cicero was to be a member; but in the twelfth Philippic Cicero opposes the sending of a deputation, and tries to get out of it himself. In the thirteenth speech, delivered on the 20th of March, Cicero defends his warlike policy against M. Lepidus and Munatius Plancus, who still were in favour of peace. Lastly, in the fourteenth Philippic, delivered on the 22nd of April, Cicero proposes a great public thanksgiving for the victory over Antony at Forum Gallorum, and honorary distinctions for the victorious generals.*

B. RHETORICAL WORKS.

61. Cicero's own experience and success as an orator qualified him, above all others, to expound the nature and principles of oratory. He did not indeed neglect the study of Greek rhetoricians, and in early youth he even compiled a manual of the art from Greek works; but in his later years he composed independent treatises on rhetoric, not so much with the object of expounding new views, as of putting before the world his own opinions as to what was required of an orator, and of defending the style of his own oratory against the censure of opponents. By this means he illustrated and popularised in an attractive form the chief principles of rhetoric, without encumbering them with the subtle technicalities of his Greek predecessors.

The following is a list of his extant rhetorical works in the order of time in which they were composed:—

1. *Rhetorica*, commonly called *De Inventione*, because the only two books which Cicero wrote treat merely on the matter or subjects of oratory; he seems himself to have been dissatisfied with the work, and to have stopped before he had finished it. The performance is, in fact, an unripe production of his youth compiled from various sources, and where he tries to correct or improve them, he generally makes things worse.

2. *De Oratore*, in three books, was written in B.C. 55, in the form of dialogues among the most illustrious orators of former days, supposed to have taken place in B.C. 91. The

* There are many editions of the collected speeches of Cicero; the best published in this country, with an excellent commentary, is that by G. Long, in 4 vols.: London, 1862.

first book discusses the education of an orator; the second the treatment of the various subjects; and the third the form and delivery of speeches. This treatise is one of Cicero's best and most perfect. The form of dialogues imparts to it an ease, liveliness, and variety which a continuous exposition of rules and principles never could have. It is clear, however, that the different speakers only express Cicero's own views.*

3. *Brutus* or *De Claris Oratoribus*, written in B.C. 46, is a valuable history of Roman oratory; it is rich in historical materials and delineations of historical characters, at the same time showing the course of training through which Cicero himself had passed. It is likewise composed in the form of a dialogue.

4. *Orator ad M. Brutum*, describes what Cicero considered the beau ideal of an orator; but the work is remarkable less for its completeness than for the value of many discussions and observations. Its composition also belongs to the year B.C. 46.

5. *Partitiones Oratoriæ*, or *De Partitione Oratoria*, written B.C. 46 or 45, is a brief summary of the whole domain of oratory in the form of questions and answers; it is, in fact, a sort of dry catechism, of which the questions are put by Cicero's son, Marcus.

6. *Topica*, written, in B.C. 44, on board ship, while Cicero was sailing towards Greece. It is an explanation of the *Topica* of Aristotle, *i.e.*, the invention of arguments, written at the request of C. Trebatius, who had often told Cicero that he did not understand the *Topica* of Aristotle. Boëthius wrote a commentary on Cicero's *Topica*, of which six books are still extant.

7. *De Optimo genere Oratorum*, is properly a preface or introduction to a translation of the speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines for and against Ctesiphon. The translation itself is lost. The introduction explaining the object of Cicero's undertaking also discusses the Attic and Asiatic style of oratory. It was written in B.C. 44.

* The best edition of *De Oratore* is that by Fr. Ellendt: Königsberg, 1840, in 2 vols. The same scholar published, in 1844, an excellent edition of the *Brutus*.

C. PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS.

62. Cicero himself in his work *De Divinatione* enumerates his philosophical treatises. The following is a list of those still extant in the chronological order of their publication:—

1. *De Re Publica*, was commenced in B.C. 54, and published three years later, just before his departure for Cilicia. The whole work consisted of six books, of which scarcely one-third has been preserved, and even that in a very mutilated form. It was composed in the form of dialogues supposed to have taken place in B.C. 129, between the younger Africanus, Lælius, and others. In composing this work, Cicero made use of Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, Theophrastus, and others, but also introduced his own political experiences. A portion of the sixth book, the *Somnium Scipionis*, had been preserved by Macrobius; but the rest was not discovered and published till 1822 by Angelo Mai, from a Vatican palimpsest.*

2. *De Legibus*, in six books, was probably commenced in B.C. 52, immediately after the publication of *De Re Publica*, to which it forms a natural sequel. It was, however, not completed at once, but was resumed in B.C. 46, nor was it finished even then. Cicero himself does not appear to have published the work, because he does not mention it anywhere, and also because the first book contains no introduction, which the author would certainly have added, if he himself had published it. Of the original six books, we have only the first three, and some fragments of the rest; but even the first three are not without gaps. The first book, which is written with great care, but is nevertheless somewhat superficial and wanting in clearness, treats of natural law; the second treats of the making of laws and of the *jus sacrum*, and successfully imitates the language of the ancient laws. The third treats *de magistratibus*; the fourth was to have dealt with the rights of magistrates; the fifth perhaps *de jure publico*; and the sixth *de jure civili*. The work, like his other philosophical treatises, is composed in the form

* The best editions of what remains of this work are those of C. F. Heinrich: Bonn, 1823; and of F. Osann: Göttingen, 1847.

of dialogues, and seems to have been based on Plato and Chrysippus.*

3. *Paradoxa* was composed in April, B.C. 46, before the news of Cato's death had reached Rome. This little treatise is a rhetorical explanation of six favourite paradoxes of the Stoics, interspersed with examples from contemporary history and covert attacks upon Crassus, Hortensius, and Lucullus, and vehement declamation against Clodius.

4. *Consolatio*, or *De Luctu Minuendo*, was composed in B.C. 45, soon after the death of his beloved daughter, Tullia, as a consolation to himself. He is said to have closely followed in its composition the work of the Academician Crantor, entitled *περί πένθους*. A few fragments are all that we possess of it.

5. *Hortensius*, or *De Philosophia*, was a dialogue in praise of philosophy, which Hortensius was represented as disparaging in comparison with eloquence. The work was evidently written with the intention of recommending philosophical studies to the Romans. Only a few fragments of this work, which is inordinately praised by St. Augustin, are now extant.

6. *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, in five books, was composed during the first half of the year B.C. 45, and dedicated to Brutus. It is preserved entire, and the care with which it has been composed entitles it to be regarded as the best of Cicero's philosophical works. It contains a comparison of the different Greek schools in regard to their views as to the greatest good and the greatest evil. It thus treats of the principal points of practical philosophy, as the *Academica* which he wrote afterwards treats of theoretical philosophy. The whole work is divided into three dialogues, in which Cicero himself takes the principal part. The other interlocutors are men recently deceased. In the first dialogue, forming the first and second books, L. Manlius Torquatus expounds the views of the Epicureans, which Cicero in the second endeavours to confute. In the second dialogue, which occupies the third and fourth books, M. Porcius Cato explains the views of the Stoics, to which Cicero, in the

* The best editions are those of Goerenz: Leipzig, 1803; and of Feldhügel: Zeiz, 1852, in 2 vols.

fourth book, replies, showing that it differs in no essential point from the doctrine of Antiochus of Ascalon. In the third dialogue, M. Pupius Piso explains the theories of the Academics and Peripatetics. In composing this treatise, Cicero does not seem to have consulted the works of Aristotle and Epicurus themselves, but only those of their more recent followers.*

7. *Academica*.—The right understanding of this work requires some knowledge of the circumstances under which it was composed in B.C. 45. Cicero at first wrote it in two books, entitled *Catulus* and *Lucullus*, between whom, together with Cicero and Hortensius, the dialogue was carried on. Atticus, who knew of this arrangement, wrote to Cicero that Varro felt hurt that none of Cicero's works had ever been dedicated to him. Upon this Cicero remodelled the whole, and divided it into four books, which he dedicated to Varro. In this second edition the author introduced Varro expounding the views of Antiochus of Ascalon, a follower of the Old Academy, while he himself tried to prove the superiority of the New Academy as represented by Philo. The second book of the first edition (the *Lucullus*), of which Atticus had obtained a copy before Cicero had made up his mind to remodel it, is still extant; of the second edition, called *Academica Posteriora*, we possess the first part of the first book and some fragments. The *Lucullus* contains the theories of Antiochus and Philo, while the *Catulus* probably gave those of Carneades, together with a general statement of the differences between the Old and the New Academy. The beginning of the second edition gives a general survey of the history of philosophy from Socrates to Arcesilas, the predecessor of Carneades and Philo. Cicero himself preferred the system of the Academics, and his *Academica* are to us the chief source of information about that school of philosophy.†

8. *Tusculanae Disputationes*, in five books, were composed during the years B.C. 45 and 44, and derive their name from the fact that the discussions are represented as having taken

* The best editions of *De Finibus* are those of Goerenz: Leipzig, 1813; and of Madvig: Copenhagen, 1839.

† The best editions are those of Goerenz, 1810; and Orelli, Zürich, 1827.

place in Cicero's villa, near Tusculum, where they were also written down. Cicero himself gives us an account of the contents of the five books; the first treats *de contemnenda morte*; the second *de tolerando dolore*; the third *de ægritudine lenienda*; the fourth *de reliquis animi perturbationibus*; and the fifth tries to show that virtue itself suffices to insure happiness.*

9. *Timæus*, a free translation of Plato's dialogue of the same name; it was made after the completion of the *Academica*. Only one considerable fragment, which is printed in the fourth volume of Orelli's edition of Cicero's works, is extant, and shows how careless the translator was in rendering the thoughts of the original.

10. *De Natura Deorum*, in three books, was commenced in B.C. 45, and completed in the following year. The work is dedicated to M. Brutus, and the dialogue is supposed to have taken place during the Feriæ Latinæ, about the year B.C. 77. C. Velleius represents the views of the Epicureans, Q. Lucilius Balbus those of the Stoics, and C. Aurelius Cotta those of the Academics. We have here the speculations of the principal philosophical schools on the existence and attributes of the gods in beautiful Latin. But, unfortunately, Cicero, in exhibiting the views of the various schools, did not consult the works of the founders themselves, but only those of their late followers, a circumstance which diminishes the value of the work.†

11. *Cato Major*, or *De Senectute*, addressed to Atticus, was written in B.C. 44. It is meant to be a dialogue, supposed to have taken place in B.C. 150, but is in reality rather a lecture in praise of old age. The materials Cicero derived from Greek authors, but the delineation of Cato's character is original and made with great care.‡

12. *De Divinatione*, in two books, is properly the complement to *De Natura Deorum*, treating of the revelations made

* The best editions are those of R. Kühner: Jena, 1853; and R. Klotz: Leipzig, 1835.

† A good edition, with German notes, is that by G. F. Schœmann, third edition: Berlin, 1850.

‡ There are many editions of this little book, the best are those of J. Sommerbrodt, fifth edition: Berlin; and of G. Long, London.

by the gods and their apprehension by man. It was published, in B.C. 44, after the murder of Cæsar. It is written in the form of a dialogue, carried on between Cicero and his brother, Quintus, at the villa near Tusculum. The first book contains the doctrines of the Stoics regarding divination, and the second those of the Academics. In dealing with this subject, Cicero, who was himself free from superstition, treats the popular superstitions and the political institutions connected with them with the utmost delicacy and caution.*

13. *De Fato*, in a single book, forms the conclusion of Cicero's works on theological subjects, and was likewise written in B.C. 44. In it Cicero combats the views of the Stoics about fate or predestination. The book has come down to us in a very mutilated form. The style is somewhat careless, and it is not impossible that Cicero may not have finally revised it for publication.

14. *Lælius* or *De Amicitia*, dedicated to Atticus, was written in B.C. 44, after the *Cato Major*. The dialogue is carried on between the younger Lælius and his two sons-in-law, C. Fannius and Q. Mucius Scævola, soon after the death (B.C. 129) of the younger Africanus, the friend of Lælius. Many of the ideas are taken from Greek authors, but the style is animated, and the sentiments expressed are sound and practical.†

15. *De Gloria*, in two books, was finished about the end of July, B.C. 44. As we have scarcely any fragments of this work, nothing can be said of its character.

16. *De Officiis*, in three books, is addressed to Cicero's son, Marcus, who was at that time studying at Athens. This work too was written in B.C. 44, and, like all the other productions of this period, was composed in great haste. As this work was intended for instruction alone, he did not write it in the form of a dialogue, but directly enunciates the views which he thinks to be the correct ones. The authorities he follows are chiefly the Stoics. His teaching is enlivened by

* The best editions are those of J. J. Hottinger: Leipzig, 1793; and L. Giese: Leipzig, 1829.

† The best editions are those of A. G. Gernhard: Leipzig, 1825; and C. W. Nauck, with a German commentary: Berlin, 1867.

the introduction of numerous examples from Roman history. The point of view from which Cicero wrote this work is that of a practical politician, in consequence of which he rises little above the conventional ideas of a Roman.*

17. *De Virtutibus*.—This book, if it ever existed as an independent work, must have been a kind of supplement to the *De Officiis*, and must have been composed shortly before or after it.

The date of the following works on philosophical subjects cannot be determined, and only fragments of them have come down to us.

18. A translation of Xenophon's *Æconomicus*, in three books, which Cicero seems to have made when a young man of about twenty.

19. A translation of Plato's *Protagoras*, which likewise seems to have been a youthful production.

20. *De Auguriis*.—Of this work the grammarian, Charisius, quotes three words. This is all we know about it, but it may be conjectured that Cicero wrote it after B.C. 51, when he was elected augur.

D. WORKS ON JURISPRUDENCE AND HISTORY.

63. We know that Cicero devoted much attention to the study of the law, but as a means to an end rather than as a distinct profession, whence his knowledge, though extensive, cannot be compared to that of men like Aquilius Gallus or Ser. Sulpicius Rufus. He seems to have lacked the power of giving sharp and accurate definitions so indispensable to a lawyer. Nevertheless, however, he tried his hand in this department also, and wrote a work *De Jure Civili in Artem Redigendo*, which may originally have been intended to form part of *De Legibus*, but was published separately, and is now lost.

Cicero also attempted to write history, and seems to have thought that, if he persevered, he might become an eminent historian. He possessed, indeed, an immense amount of historical knowledge, but his oratorical powers, and his inability to

* The best modern editions are those of C. Beier: Leipzig, 1820 and 1831, in two vols.; A. G. Gernhard: Leipzig, 1811; and O. Heine: Berlin, 1857, third edition.

look at things objectively, would have proved a great hindrance. It is possible, however, that, if he had lived longer, he might have become a successful historian. As it is he wrote historical works only on his own consulship. One was a *Commentarius Consulatus Sui*, which was written in B.C. 60, in Greek; we know that about the same time he was engaged upon a Latin work on the same subject. Another historical work, entitled *Anecdota* was begun in B.C. 59, but not published till after his death. It seems to have been an apology for or defence of the policy he had pursued through life. Lastly, there is mention of a work called *Miranda*.*

E. CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

64. During the most important period of his life, Cicero kept up an active correspondence with Atticus and a large circle of literary and political friends; including ninety letters which were addressed to Cicero, we still possess 864, the earliest belonging to the year B.C. 68, and the latest to the last year of his life. Unfortunately, there is among them not one written during his consulship. These letters are to us an inexhaustible mine of information about the history of the time, and as such, perhaps, more valuable than all his speeches. Many of them were written to his most intimate friends, and in them he opened his heart most unreservedly, probably never dreaming that they would be published. Cicero himself never collected them, and still less did he intend to make them public, although some of his friends seem to have suggested the desirability of it. But after his death, when his authority was ever increasing in the schools of the rhetoricians, his letters were eagerly collected, and it appears that, in the year B.C. 24, Cornelius Nepos already knew of the 16 *volumina* (books) of letters to Atticus. There existed besides this other large collections, of which only one, commonly called *Ad Familiares*, has come down to our time.

The collection of letters *Ad Familiares* consists of sixteen books, and extends over the period from B.C. 63 until the

* The few fragments of these works are collected by Orelli in the last volume of his edition of Cicero.

year of Cicero's death. They are arranged according to the persons to whom they are addressed, with the exception of book 13; but even where a series of letters addressed to the same person is given they are not arranged in chronological order. This collection seems to have been made by Cicero's freedman, Tiro, immediately after his death, and before other more voluminous collections which are now lost were made.*

The collection of letters *Ad Atticum*, in sixteen books, extends over the period from B.C. 68 till a few months before Cicero's death. In them Cicero speaks as frankly and openly as if he were talking to himself, and as we do not possess the letters of Atticus to which Cicero refers, it is not always easy to understand what is alluded to. The order in which the letters are printed is not altogether chronologically correct. Atticus had no doubt sanctioned their publication, though they did not appear till after his death.

There is a third collection of letters, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, in three books, extending over six years, from B.C. 60 to B.C. 54.

A fourth collection, lastly, consists of a *correspondence between Cicero and M. Brutus*, in two books. The first contains eighteen letters; eleven of them were written by Cicero to Brutus, six by Brutus to Cicero, and one by Brutus to Atticus. The second book, first discovered and published in Germany, by Cratander, contains eight letters, five from Cicero to Brutus, and three from Brutus to Cicero. All of them were written after the murder of Cæsar. Their genuineness has been doubted by some scholars, but without sufficient reasons.

F. POETICAL WORKS OF CICERO.

65. Cicero seems to have acquired a taste for poetry when he studied under the poet Archias. But his attempts in this direction were little more than youthful exercises, which beyond their versification, in which Cicero must have had

* This collection of letters has often been published; the commentary of P. Manutius, republished by C. G. Richter: Leipzig, in two vols., is still very useful. Manutius also published a commentary on the letters to Atticus: Venice, 1567.

great facility, were of little value, and certainly did not increase his reputation. The following poetical productions are mentioned, but we possess only fragments of them: (1) A translation of about forty-four lines of Homer in hexameters; (2) a translation of Aratus *Phænomena* and *Diosemeia*; (3) *Alcyones*, a poem, of which scarcely two lines remain, quoted by Nonius; (4) a poem, called *Limon*, four lines of which, in hexameter, are quoted by Suetonius; (5) *Marius*, an epic poem in hexameters, which was written in B.C. 82. A spirited fragment of it is quoted in the *De Divinatione*, consisting of thirteen hexameter lines; (6) *De meo Consulatu*, in three books, composed in B.C. 60, in hexameter lines. A rather long fragment of it is quoted in the *De Divinatione*; (7) *De meis Temporibus*, in three books, written about B.C. 55, which contained an account of his exile, his sufferings, and his recall. Four lines of it are all that remain of this poem; (8) in B.C. 43 Cicero wrote a eulogistic poem on Julius Cæsar (*Poema ad Cæsarem*). The extant fragments of these and other works are collected in the last volume of Orelli's edition of Cicero.

66. In connection with Cicero we may here mention his younger brother, Quintus, and his freedman, Tiro, both of whom were men of some literary talent.

1. *Q. Tullius Cicero*, was born in B.C. 102, served as legate under Pompey in Sardinia, under Cæsar in Gaul and Britain, and under his brother in Cilicia. He was killed during the proscription, in B.C. 43. He took great interest in history and poetry, and seems to have had the same facility in composition as his brother. He wrote an historical work, called *Annales*, and a number of tragedies which, however, may have been mere translations from the Greek.

2. *M. Tullius Tiro*, Cicero's freedman and friend, survived his patron for a long time, and showed his attachment to him by writing his biography in at least four books, and by publishing his letters and witty sayings (*joci*). But he also wrote independent works of an encyclopædic and grammatical character, and even seems to have composed poetry; but he gained particular reputation by his invention of a kind of stenography, which was celebrated under the name of *Notæ Tironianæ*.

67. Simultaneously with the men already mentioned who, besides their compositions in prose, also wrote poetry, there appeared three men, the first of whom introduced into literature a new species of poetry, viz.—

1. **Decimus Laberius**, a Roman eques, born in B.C. 105, at Rome. He made the mimes a regular branch of comic literature, and in them combined all the older forms of comedy—the Greek *palliata*, the Roman *togata*, and the licentiousness of the *atellanae*. We still know the titles, and possess fragments of a great many of his mimes, from which we see that their subjects were taken from common life, and that the language was frequently that of the lowest populace, although Laberius was himself well acquainted with Greek culture and refinement. Cæsar demanded of him that he should appear on the stage as an actor in one of his own mimes. As by complying with this demand he forfeited his rights not only of an eques, but even of a Roman citizen, he bitterly complains of it in the interesting prologue preserved by Macrobius. Laberius died at Puteoli, in the tenth month after the murder of Cæsar, *i.e.*, towards the end of B.C. 43. He seems to have been unsparing in his attacks upon men and manners, for which Cæsar disliked him.*

2. **M. Furius Bibaculus**, of Cremona, born in B.C. 103, wrote invective poems in iambs, especially against those who were in favour of a monarchical government. It may be that the *Alpinus*, whom Horace ridicules for his high-flown and bombastic style, is no other than Bibaculus. He is further mentioned as the author of *Lucubrations*, and was perhaps the author of an epic poem on the Gallic war.†

3. **P. Syrus**, a freedman of Syrian origin, distinguished himself as a writer of mimes, and, in B.C. 45, gained a victory by his mimes over all his competitors, even over Laberius. On one occasion Cicero witnessed one of his performances. His mimes were celebrated for their richness in moral maxims (*sententiæ*). His mimes themselves are lost, but a collection of *sententiæ* made from them is still extant.

* The fragments of Laberius are collected in O. Ribbeck's *Comic. Lat. Reliquiæ*, p. 237, foll.

† His fragments are collected in Weichert's *Poet. Lat. Reliq.*, p. 335, foll.

This collection, made for educational purposes, afterwards became a very popular school-book; it consists of about 800 *sententiæ*, but it is very doubtful whether they are all genuine productions of Syrus.*

B. THE PERIOD FROM CICERO'S CONSULSHIP TO HIS DEATH.
(FROM B.C. 63 TO B.C. 43.)

68. The most prominent figure during this period is, next to Cicero, C. Julius Cæsar. But, brief as it is, this period brings before us two distinct generations of writers, the earlier one embracing, besides Cæsar, such men as Cornelius Nepos, Hirtius, Oppius, Lucretius, and others; while the later generation consists of those whose lives fell upon the stormy times of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey. We shall first consider the state of literature during the earlier generation.

1. **C. Julius Cæsar**, born on the 12th of July, B.C. 100, was the son of C. Cæsar and the excellent Aurelia. He lost his father at the age of 16, and being connected with Marius, the great opponent of Sulla, his life was in danger. He made his first campaign in B.C. 80, and distinguished himself in the taking of Mitylene. He began his career as an orator and politician by accusations against members of the nobility for extortion in the provinces. In B.C. 75 he proceeded to Rhodes to make himself more perfect as an orator by studying under Apollonius Molo. In B.C. 67 he obtained the office of quæstor in Further Spain, two years later the ædileship, and, in B.C. 63, he became pontifex maximus. He was elected consul, B.C. 59, for having the year before formed the first triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus, and exerted all his powers to put himself at the head of the popular party. During the period from B.C. 58 to B.C. 50 he had as pro-consul the administration of Gaul, during which he subdued the whole of that country, and secured to himself the attachment of his army, for he knew only too well what machinations were going on at Rome. With this army he raised himself to the supreme power in the republic, and

* The fragments of Syrus, together with the *Sententiæ*, are collected in O. Ribbeck's *Com. Lat. Reliquiæ*, p. 258, foll., where he is called P. Publius Lochius Syrus.

with the title of dictator became the sovereign of the state; but a formidable conspiracy was formed against him, and he was killed in the senate house on the 15th of March, B.C. 44.

69. Julius Cæsar was one of the greatest men that history knows of. He was not more distinguished as a general than he was as an orator and statesman. Nature had destined him to be the ruler of a great state by the clearness of his intellect, the energy of his will, and the perseverance with which he pursued the object he had set before himself. As an orator he was inferior only to Cicero, yet he valued that power only so far as it was to him a means of accomplishing certain political objects. Amid all his vast undertakings he found time even to think and write on grammatical subjects and on astronomy. The poetical productions ascribed to him were probably not of much value, and belonged chiefly to his earlier years.

Of his speeches, some of which were published, only fragments remain.* The same is the case of his grammatical work, *De Analogia*, in two books, which he wrote during his pro-consulship of Gaul and dedicated to Cicero. He is said to have composed it while crossing the Alps from Cisalpine to Transalpine Gaul.†

As to his astronomical work, *De Astris*, which is often referred to, it was probably written in connection with his reform of the calendar, perhaps not by himself, but by some one whom he had commissioned to compose it, and who afterwards published it under Cæsar's name.

After the death of Cato at Utica, Cicero published an eulogy on him, which irritated Cæsar so much that he replied to it in a work of two books entitled *Anticato* or *Anticatones*, in which he flattered Cicero, but treated Cato, who was looked upon by his partisans as a martyr for his republican opinions, as a rash and ridiculous person. Cæsar had no doubt a very active correspondence with the leading men of his time, and many of his letters were collected after his death and published, but they are now lost.‡

* For the remains of his oratory, see Meyer's *Orat. Rom. Fragm.*, p. 408, foll.

† The remains of this work have been collected by Nipperdey in his edition of Cæsar, p. 753, foll.

‡ Cæsar's epistolary remains have been collected by Nipperdey, l.c. p. 766, foll.

70. The only works of Cæsar which have come down to us in a state of completeness are—

1. *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, in seven books, containing the history of the first seven years of his Gallic war; they were published, in B.C. 51, after the termination of the war. These commentarii are a kind of memoir, being neither a carefully composed history nor the mere jottings of a journal or diary; but although their form is simple and artless, yet every expression is carefully weighed. The author, without ever making an untrue statement, contrives to arrange the facts in such a manner as to place himself in a favourable light; and where this is not feasible things are passed over in silence. Hence his mode of action always appears justifiable and his motives good.

2. *Commentarii de bello civili*, in three books, are pervaded by the same spirit, and contain an account of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, down to the outbreak of the Alexandrian war.

After Cæsar's death his friends undertook to describe those campaigns of which he himself had given no account, viz.: those of the last year of his governorship of Gaul—the Alexandrian, the African, and the Spanish wars. These three are evidently the productions of different writers.

The account of Cæsar's eighth or last year in Gaul and that of the Alexandrian war are written by a man of culture who tried, and not unsuccessfully, to imitate the style of Cæsar himself, and there can be no doubt that Cæsar's friend, A. Hirtius, is the author.

The accounts of the African and Spanish wars, which have sometimes been regarded as the work of *C. Oppius*, another friend of Cæsar's, cannot possibly have proceeded from his pen. The history of the Spanish war is evidently the production of an uneducated person, who had no idea of style or even correctness of language; and that of the African war is written in a bombastic style and without taste. It is not improbable that these two accounts may have been drawn up at Hirtius' request by some subordinate officers, who had served in the wars, as materials to be used by Hirtius at some future time. These books are generally printed together with the genuine works of Cæsar.

Both *Hirtius* and *Oppius* were men of literary culture and taste. The former wrote, in B.C. 45, at the request of Cæsar, a reply to Cicero's eulogy on Cato; and *Oppius* wrote a life of Cæsar, which is often referred to, a life of Cassius, and a third of the elder Africanus.*

71. *Cornelius Nepos*, a native of northern Italy, lived on intimate terms with Cicero, Atticus, and the poet Catullus. He was probably born about B.C. 94, and died in the reign of Augustus, about B.C. 24. Further details of his life are not known, except that, in B.C. 44, he lost a son who was still in his boyhood. Nepos was evidently a good-natured and honest man, but intellectually much inferior to his great contemporaries. He was the author of several works, only one of which has come down to us. His lost works of which we have any knowledge are:—

1. *Erotic poems*, alluded to in one of Pliny's Epistles.
2. *Chronica*, probably a chronological summary like that of Atticus, but comprising also the history of other nations besides that of Rome.
3. *Exempla*, in at least five books. From the quotations we have from it we may infer, that in this work the author contrasted the simplicity of the ancient Romans with the luxurious manners of his own time.
4. *A life of Cato*, which he wrote at the request of Atticus; that it was a distinct work and not the short *vita Catonis* still extant, is distinctly stated by Nepos himself.
5. *A life of Cicero*, in several books, probably composed after Cicero's death.
6. *A geographical work*, apparently a collection of wondrous accounts of foreign countries, without any critical discernment.

The only work of Cornelius Nepos that has come down to us is:—

7. *De Vita Excellentium Imperatorum*, a collection of very unequal biographies of Greek generals, short sketches of Persian and Macedonian kings, of Hamilcar, Hannibal, Cato,

* There are innumerable editions of the *Commentarii* of Cæsar, both with and without the supplement of *Hirtius* and the other writers. Excellent school editions of the comment. of the Gallic war are those G. Long: London, 1859; and F. Kraner: Leipzig, 1853; and in Chambers' Educational Course.

and a somewhat detailed life of Atticus. There is no plan in the work, which seems to have been drawn up hastily and with little preparation: for some of the authorities which ought to have been consulted are altogether overlooked, and those which have been used have often been misunderstood. The author does not distinguish between what is important and what is not, and is fond of relating what is merely curious or anecdotal instead of what is of true historical importance. His style is rather elegant as long as he confines himself to short sentences, but when he attempts longer periods he becomes involved and clumsy, and some of his constructions differ from the better prose of his time. For these and other reasons the work has been regarded by some as the production of one *Æmilius Probus*, who lived in the time of the Emperor Honorius; but this opinion has long since been refuted.*

72. *P. Nigidius Figulus*, born about B.C. 98, was prætor in B.C. 58. Being a zealous partisan of Pompey he was sent into exile by Cæsar, and died abroad in B.C. 45. He belonged to the Pythagorean school of philosophy, and was reputed to be a man of extensive learning in all departments, especially in the natural sciences, which, however, he seems to have made use of chiefly for mystic purposes, such as the finding where stolen property was concealed, and to foretell men's future fate by astrological calculations. His works, of which we possess only fragments, were:—

1. *Commentarii Grammatici*, probably in thirty books, treated of the whole subject of grammar, frequently trying to trace the phenomena of language to their causes; but his grammatical studies never acquired the same popularity as those of Varro.
2. A work *De Extis*, i.e., on the significance of the entrails at sacrifices. With this subject was connected a work in several books on augury, and another on dreams.
3. *De Diis*, consisting of at least nineteen books, in which he discussed the gods and their worship, both Roman and foreign.

* There are numberless editions of *Corn. Nepos*; but the best among them are those of C. L. Roth: Basel, 1841; and Nipperdey: Leipzig, 1849. A good school edition is that in Chambers' Latin Series of the Educational Course.

4. *De Ventis*, consisting of at least two books. He further wrote on zoology and other branches of physical science.

Other writers of less note on augury were *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, *M. Valerius Messala*, *Lucius Cæsar*, and *A. Cæcina*.

73. *Valerius Cato*, a teacher of grammar and a poet, was according to some a freedman, but he himself indignantly asserted that he was born free and lost his patrimony in the time of Sulla. He died at a very advanced age in extreme poverty. He wrote poems which seem to have been of an erotic character, and which were entitled *Lydia*, *Diana*, and *Diræ*, i.e., imprecations. The last of these is still extant, and is ascribed by some to Vergil. Another teacher and grammarian was *Orbilius Pupillus* of Beneventum, well known from Horace's allusion to him. He also lived to an advanced age and in poverty. He wrote a book entitled *περιαλγής*, in which he complained of the wrongs done to teachers by the negligence and ambition of parents. He seems to have been as severe with his pupils as *Valerius Cato* was gentle.

74. The study of the law was promoted during this period chiefly by *A. Ofilius*, *Trebatius*, *A. Cascellius*, and others; and it may be mentioned here that Cæsar had formed the plan of collecting, with the assistance of *A. Ofilius*, all the existing laws in one code, but he was prevented from carrying it out by his death.

Among the orators of this time the following deserve to be mentioned, although we have nothing to attest their oratorical powers beyond a few fragments: *M. Calpidius*, *C. Memmius*, *C. Manilius*, and *P. Sestius*.

75. *T. Lucretius Carus*.—The only account we have of his life states that he was born in B.C. 95, that by a love potion he was thrown into a state of madness, that he composed some books of his great poem during lucid intervals, and that he committed suicide in the forty-fourth year of his age, i.e., B.C. 51. He himself states that he was born at Rome, but it is unknown where he received his education, and what inspired him with the profound admiration of the philosophy of Epicurus of which he afterwards became the expounder in his work. The statement that he became insane from a love potion, and that he committed suicide, sounds rather apocryphal, and may be a mere invention of

those who thought an Epicurean and an atheist could not end otherwise. It is further said that Cicero corrected his poem; but, if this were true, Cicero would surely have alluded to it somewhere; he mentions Lucretius only very rarely, and not in very complimentary terms, allowing him to be a man of talent, but stating that he is deficient in artistic culture.

Lucretius' only work is a didactic poem, in six books, entitled *De Rerum Natura*; it has come down to us entire, with the exception of a few gaps, and is addressed to C. Memmius Gemellus. It gives the views of Epicurus on nature, psychology, and ethics, more correctly perhaps than any other writer. The object of the poem is to convince his readers of the truth of the Epicurean doctrines, and thereby to free them from the absurd fear of the gods and of death. He himself is so thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Epicurean system, that he looks with profound pity upon those who do not acknowledge it, and is ready to endure obliquy and poverty for the honour of expounding the system to his countrymen. The substance of his poem is thus taken from Epicurus; in the treatment of it he followed Empedocles, and in form the annals of Ennius. His style and language, like his thoughts, went back to a bygone age; the polished style of his contemporaries seems to have appeared to him little suited to the subject he was writing about, hence the many archaic forms of his language.

Lucretius probably chose the poetical form as the vehicle of his teaching, because he thought it would thereby find a more ready access to the minds and hearts of his readers. And notwithstanding the dryness of his subject, Lucretius' poetic genius has imparted to his work a freshness and a charm which only a true poet could give to it. In his own time the poem seems to have made no great impression, but on the poets of the next generation it exercised a decided influence; thus Vergil is said to have borrowed from him not only words, but almost entire verses; and Horace shows in many ways an intimate acquaintance with the work of Lucretius. Later on those men who had a liking for archaic forms even preferred him to Vergil. Some imperfections are

explained by the fact that the author did not live to give his work a final revision.*

76. The period from B.C. 53 to 43 embraces the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey with their followers; it was a time of the greatest excitement, not only in social and political life, but also in literature, which, especially in history and oratory, sided either with one party or the other. The influence of Greek culture had reached that point where the Romans began to feel that now they might rival their masters both in poetry and in oratory. In poetry, however, instead of following the classical models, they took for their guides, in substance as well as in form, the Alexandrians, whose lax morals were more in accordance with those of the Romans at this time, whence almost every poet wrote erotic poems. The freedom which orators were still enjoying found itself more and more reduced and restrained as the republic died away to make room for monarchy.

77. C. Sallustius Crispus, born at Amiternum in B.C. 87, was tribune of the plebs in B.C. 52, but two years later he was ejected from the senate, probably through factious intrigues. Cæsar, however, to whose party Sallust belonged, contrived to restore him by causing him to be elected quæstor. Afterwards he obtained the prætorship, and through Cæsar's influence the pro-consulship of Africa, where he appears to have amassed great wealth. His extortions in his province were enormous, but when he was accused Cæsar procured his acquittal. Sallust then bought a villa near Tibur, and laid out splendid gardens on the Quirinal (*horti Sallustiani*). After the murder of Cæsar, Sallust lived in retirement, devoting himself entirely to literary pursuits, especially to history, and died in B.C. 35. All ancient writers who speak of Sallust are unanimous in condemning him for his dissolute conduct in early life, and draw attention to the contrast between his teaching in his writings and his practice. Sallust's writings are—

1. *Catilina*, or *Bellum Catilinarium*, probably the first work he ever wrote. It appears to have been published after

* The best modern editions of Lucretius are those of C. Lachmann: Berlin, 1850; and of A. J. H. Munro, 2nd edition: Cambridge, 1866, with notes and an English translation.

the death of Cæsar, and is based upon the author's own recollections, on Cicero's work, *De Consulatu Suo*, and on the *Acta Senatus*; but other sources seem to have been neglected, whence many corrections and additions to the history of Catiline must still be made from other authorities. Sallust evidently tries to be impartial, but cannot conceal his sympathy with Cæsar, and towards Cicero he is scarcely fair. The treatment of his subject is psychological and rhetorical, rather than historical, and the style rugged and sententious.

2. *Jugurtha*, or *Bellum Jugurthinum*. Sallust took up this subject probably because he was well acquainted with the localities of the war, but more especially because it afforded him an opportunity of exhibiting the misconduct of the optimates, who, after the death of the Gracchi, had reached the climax of their insolence and arrogance. This tendency is manifest throughout the work, especially in the speeches of Memmius and Marius, and in the manner in which Marius, the champion of the democratic party, is spoken of. But, notwithstanding this, Sallust is neither blind to the faults of his favourite, nor does he underrate the character of Sulla. The *Jugurtha* is altogether an admirable and impartial monogram, which he seems to have composed with great care, for the history is as complete as it can be, and the style is much more smooth and elegant than in the *Catiline*; and although the subject is only the monotonous history of wars, yet he has succeeded in imparting to it a variety and animation which make the *Jugurtha* one of the most charming productions of Latin literature.

3. *Historie*. They commenced with the year B.C. 78, in which Sulla died, and were continued down to the year B.C. 67, though it was probably intended to carry the history down to the Catilinarian conspiracy. This work, which seems to have consisted of at least five books, was thus a kind of continuation of the history of Sisenna.* We now possess only fragments of it, the most important among which are four speeches of Lepidus, L. Philippus, C. Cotta, and

* Good editions of Sallust, which also contain the fragments of the *Historie*, are those of Gerlach: Bæde, 1823-1831, in 3 vols.; and of C. Kritz: Leipzig, 1828-1853, in 3 vols. A good school edition is that of T. Keightley: London, 1843.

Licinius Macer, and two letters, one of Pompey and the other of Mithradates.

There are two letters addressed to Cæsar, *De Ordinanda Republica*, which were formerly attributed to Sallust, and the style of which bears indeed some resemblance to that of Sallust, but their contents are of such a nature that it is impossible to consider them as works of Sallust. The same is the case with the two *declamationes* of Sallust against Cicero, and of Cicero against Sallust; for though they contain much valuable information, still it is inconceivable that two men, already advanced in years, men who had never been personally connected with each other, should thus publicly assail each other. They are probably rhetorical exercises of some one who thought the enmity between Cicero and Sallust was a fair subject for rhetorical display.

Sallust, as an historian, seems to have taken Thucydides for his model; and, like him, he undertook to write about times through which he himself had passed, or about which he could consult eye-witnesses. In treating of such times the temptation was of course great to give way to personal views and feelings; but it must be acknowledged that Sallust on the whole has kept himself free from undue partiality. The murder of Cæsar may have somewhat softened down his democratic passion, and convinced him of the weaknesses of his time and of the folly of trying to swim against the current. Sallust is really the first artistic historian among the Romans. He bestowed great care upon his compositions, and imitated the best Greek models; he did not adopt the style most popular in his own time, but formed one peculiar to himself, following the manner of the elder Cato rather than that of his contemporaries. Hence the archaic colouring which characterises his works.

78. Q. Ælius Tubero tried at first the career of an orator, and, partly from personal motives and partly to please Cæsar, he came forward as an accuser of Ligarius in a speech (B.C. 46) which Quintilian still read; but being opposed by Cicero, he had little chance of success. He gained more fame by his legal and historical writings. Among the former his work, *De Officio Judicis*, in at least nine books, is often referred to. As to his historical work, *Historiæ*, consisting of at least

fourteen books, we know that it began with the earliest times and ended with the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey. His style is said to have been archaic, and was, therefore, not very popular.*

In the matter of style Tubero was surpassed by P. *Alfenus Varus*, of Cremona, who was a shoemaker's son, but went to Rome, and by his talent and industry rose even to the consulship in B.C. 39. His work called *Digesta*, in forty books, and consisting of a collection of *Responsa*, was highly valued by the jurists of later times. C. *Matius*, born about B.C. 84, was a faithful friend of Cæsar, and a man of a gentle disposition, who, without involving himself in the political feuds of the day, exerted himself as a mediator between the contending parties. He transferred his affection for Cæsar to Octavianus, and died about B.C. 4. He wrote a gastronomic work in three books, entitled *Cocus*, *Cetarius*, and *Salgamarius*, which shows that he attached much importance to the pleasures of the table.

Other contemporaries and followers of Cæsar, who are known as orators, or as authors of letters still extant among those of Cicero, are C. *Seribonius Curio*, Q. *Cornificius*, M. *Antony*, L. *Calpurnius*, and several others, among whom we even hear of a lady orator, Hortensia, a daughter of Q. Hortensius, whose speech, delivered in B.C. 43, was read as late as the time of Quintilian.

The most eminent scholars and teachers of this time, some of whom also distinguished themselves as writers, were the Greek *Ateius Prætextatus*, who assumed the title of *Philologus*; *Lencæus*, a freedman of Pompey; *Epidius*, and *Sextus Clodius*.

79. The poets of this time seem to have kept aloof from the strife of the political parties, at least we have no traces of any partisanship in any of their remains. The following are those best known:—

1. P. *Terentius Varro*, surnamed *Atacinus*, from a place called *Atax* in southern Gaul, was born in B.C. 82, and died probably about B.C. 36. He is said to have studied Greek literature when he was already thirty-five years old. He was the author of an epic poem, *De Bello Sequanico*, of

* The few fragments of his history have been collected by Krause, p. 325, foll., and by Roth, *Hist. Vet. Rom. Reliquiæ*, p. 437, foll.

which a second book is mentioned. Another work was a free translation of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, in four books, in which he does not seem to have displayed much command of language. Besides these books he composed *Satura*, which, according to Horace, were not very successful. He further wrote a work entitled *Chorographia*, which contained, in verse, a description of the world so far as it was then known, and appears to have been based upon a Greek work by Alexander of Ephesus, entitled *Lychnos*; also elegies of an erotic character are mentioned, but not one of his works has come down to us.*

2. Tanusius, probably a native of Padua, whose versified *Annales* Catullus speaks of with the greatest contempt.

3. P. Syrus (see p. 82).

80. Among the opponents of Cæsar there were few men of literary eminence. The most distinguished among them, perhaps, was M. Junius Brutus, one of Cæsar's murderers, who gained great reputation for the earnestness of his speeches, some of which were published. He was the author of several philosophical works, as *De Virtute* and *De Patientia*. His style may still be seen in his letters addressed to Cicero.† Other conspirators against Cæsar, such as D. Brutus, C. Cassius, Cassius of Parma, and C. Trebonius, are likewise known from their correspondence with Cicero. Cassius of Parma and Trebonius also wrote poetry; and the former, an Epicurean, is said to have written many tragedies, elegies, and epigrams; the latter published a collection of witty sayings of Cicero, who seems to have been much delighted with it. There is also mention of two historians, Ti. Ampius Balbus, a zealous partisan of Pompey, and M. Antonius Naso, who wrote a work on Cæsar and the time of the civil war; but no particulars of their nature or value are recorded.

81. To the same party, it would seem, belonged one Tigidas, author of erotic poems, and C. Helvius Cinna, a friend of Catullus, who seems to have died between B.C. 44

* His remains have been collected by F. Wüllner, *Commentatio de P. Terentii Varronis Vita et Scriptis*: Münster, 1829; and by A. Riese, *Varronis Sat. Menippeæ*.

† For the fragments of Brutus' speeches, see Meyer, l. c., p. 446, foll.

and 39. His principal work was an epic poem entitled *Zmyrna* (Smyrna), on the story of the unnatural love of Myrrha for her father Cinyras. Although the poem was short, he is said to have worked at it for ten years, which shows that he cannot have been a man of much talent. With all this care, however, the work was so obscure that some grammarians of the time found it necessary to write commentaries upon it. He also wrote erotic poems, of which the ancients themselves do not express a high opinion. He was in every respect a follower of the Alexandrian school of poetry.*

A much greater poet was C. Licinius Calvus who was born in B.C. 82, and must have died before B.C. 47. He was a son of the annalist Licinius Macer, and is highly praised by Cicero for his oratorical powers, which, if he had lived longer, would have secured for him a high position among Roman orators. He imitated the great Athenian orators, and spoke with great animation and even vehemence. He seems to have published a collection of his speeches in twenty books, some of which were read with pleasure in the time of Quintilian.† But Calvus was not only great as an orator; he also wrote poetry, in which he combined the formal correctness of the Alexandrians with the passion and vehemence of Catullus, to whom in many respects he bore a great resemblance. The same passionate character which he displayed in his speeches was also manifested in his poetry, which seems to have been principally of an erotic character, like that of most of his contemporaries, who took the Alexandrians for their models.

82. The greatest lyric poet, not only of this period, but in all the Latin literature, is

C. Valerius Catullus. He was born at Verona in B.C. 87, and died in B.C. 57, at the early age of thirty. His father lived on terms of friendship with Cæsar, and his son seems to have received his education at Rome, where he formed the acquaintance of such men as Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, and others, but he did not take part in state affairs. He

* His fragments are collected in A. Weichert's *Pætarum Lat. Vitæ*, etc., p. 187, foll.

† See his fragments in A. Meyer, l. c., p. 474, foll.

possessed but a moderate fortune and a small villa near Tibur. He formed a connection with a lady whom he calls Lesbia, but whose real name was Clodia, a sister of the notorious Clodius, to whom he addressed the most glowing and passionate poems, until at last he discovered that the woman whom he had looked up to as an ideal, was in reality a person of a disreputable character. He seems at first to have borne a grudge against Cæsar, though perhaps only on account of Cæsar's connection with the contemptible Mamurra; but afterwards the friendship which had subsisted between his father and Cæsar was renewed.

We possess 116 poems of Catullus, in the earliest of which, especially in the epic poem on the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, he followed the example of the Alexandrians; but afterwards the manifold experiences of life, and his love for Lesbia, developed his own original genius, which unfolded itself in the most varied forms, and on the most varied subjects. He did not live long enough to reach the highest perfection; in all his productions he appears as a youthful enthusiast, in his love as well as in his hate. He is hot-headed and reckless, and not unfrequently coarse and offensive, and transgresses, according to our ideas, the bounds of decency and propriety. But at the same time he expresses, in simple and unaffected language, the tenderest and deepest feelings, which give to his poems a charm and fascination which no other Roman poet possesses. He probably published each poem separately, but the order in which they now appear is arbitrary, and certainly not chronologically arranged, though it may be that Catullus himself made the collection, and arranged the poems in the order in which they have come down to us.*

83. During this period, when the republic was divided into two hostile camps, the parties attacked each other not only in their public speeches, but also in a new kind of literature, which we may call *political pamphlets*, in which the writers gave vent to their party feelings. The chief opportunities of making such demonstrations was the custom

* The poems are generally published together with those of Tibullus and Propertius; but the best separate editions are those of C. Lachmann: Berlin, 1861; and of R. Ellis: London, 1867.

of delivering orations at the funeral of deceased persons (*laudationes*), which were afterwards published. Thus, when Cato had committed suicide that he might not live under a monarchy, a number of *laudationes* were published by Cicero, M. Brutus, M. Fadius, Munatius, and others; while the death of Cæsar gave his friends an opportunity of coming forward to laud and extol his policy.

Another branch of literature, which may be compared with our oldest newspapers, commenced in B.C. 59, when, on the proposal of Cæsar, the senate decreed that its own official transactions (*acta senatus*), as well as the business transacted by the people (*populi acta diurna*), should be published. The former of these *acta* continued to be written out down to the latest period of the empire, but their publication was forbidden by Augustus. They were kept in the state archives (the *tabularium*), where the magistrates might inspect them. Some remains of such *acta senatus* are still extant. The *acta populi diurna* are also called simply *acta diurna*, *acta urbana*, *acta urbis*, *diurna* (whence *journal*) or *acta*. This institution, which continued down to the latest times, was an incalculable benefit to the Romans who lived abroad, and took an interest in what was going on at Rome. The publication was under official control, and numerous scribes were employed in making copies and sending them to the various parts of the empire. Copies were also deposited in the *tabularium*, where they could be consulted by the students of history. We now possess no genuine remains of these *acta diurna*.

C. THE AUGUSTAN AGE.

(FROM THE DEATH OF CICERO, B.C. 43, TO THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS, A.D. 14).

84. The change of the republic into a monarchy after the battle of Actium, in B.C. 31, exercised a vast influence upon the literature, as well as on the social and political life of the Romans. Outwardly, the forms and institutions of the republic were preserved, as Augustus was warned by the fate of his great uncle not to imperil his position by any sudden change; but he contrived gradually to concentrate in his own person all the powers previously possessed by the

several magistrates. The senate and the assembly of the people still met, but the republican freedom of discussion died away, and became mere flattery and declamation. The leading men of the republican party had died on the field of battle, or otherwise, and those who survived had to resign themselves, willing or unwilling, to the new state of things, which, in the eyes of many, must have appeared preferable to the feuds and civil wars which for a hundred years had distracted the state, and shed the blood of thousands of citizens; but freedom disappeared, and those who, either in the senate or in the assembly, tried to maintain their ancient rights, were in danger of reaping exile or death as their reward, and were looked upon by the majority as enthusiastic idealists.

Oratory as well as the writing of history, at least of contemporary history, had to consider not so much what was upright and true as what would not be displeasing to the sovereign and his court. Poetry, with few exceptions, became a kind of elegant amusement of the higher circles, and lost its influence upon the great body of the people.

Literature, which had formerly been only a recreation of the men who devoted their main energies to the business of the state, now became a fashionable occupation of literary classes or coteries, which met for hearing or criticising the productions of friends or strangers, and in the true spirit of cliques belauded worthless productions, and superciliously cast into the shade works of sterling merit. The favour which poetry enjoyed in the highest circles of Roman society called forth a host of poets and poetasters. In like manner, philosophical pursuits became a matter of fashion; the nobler spirits seeking comfort in the doctrines of the Stoics, while the majority embraced those of Epicurus, who seemed to hold out to them a life of pleasure and enjoyment as the greatest good. Yet we scarcely hear of any one who entered deeply into the study of philosophical questions; all was shallow superficiality.

Latin prose, which had reached its highest perfection in Cicero, gradually degenerated into rhetorical declamation, Livy alone forming an honourable exception, though even his style is not quite free from poetical and rhetorical em-

bellishments. Other prose writers were engrossed with their subjects, and thought little of the form of their compositions. All this will become obvious when we consider the men and the works representing the literature of the Augustan age. Some of them who had themselves witnessed the death struggles of the republic, show in their writings a feeling of sadness at the loss of freedom; while others, born under the monarchy, enjoyed, without pain or misgivings, the peace and material prosperity which the monarchy had created.

85. It is a remarkable fact that the leading men of the Augustan age, such as Asinius Pollio, Munatius Plancus, Valerius Messala, and especially Augustus himself and his friend Mæcenas, cultivated and promoted literature, though the last two obviously did so with the intention of turning men's attention from political to other occupations that were less dangerous to the actual state of things. We shall head our account of the literature of the Augustan age with the name of Augustus himself.

86. Augustus.—He is praised both by his contemporaries and by later writers as an orator for the elegance, clearness, and conciseness of his speeches. He also occupied himself with poetry, and wrote a work in hexameter verse, entitled *Sicilia*, and a collection of epigrams which he is said to have composed while bathing. A tragedy, called *Ajax*, which he commenced with great enthusiasm, was never finished. His most important work, however, was written in prose; it consisted of three books (*volumina*), the first of which contained regulations about his own funeral, the second an account (*index*) of his own achievements, and the third a brief description of the whole empire, with an account of the number of men under arms, and of the amount of money in the *ærarium* and the *fiscus*. The second book Augustus ordered to be engraved on bronze tables, and to be exhibited in front of his mausoleum. Copies of it were made and sent into the provinces to be set up in the temples which were erected to Augustus. A copy of this index was discovered, in 1544, at Ancyra, in Galatia, inscribed on marble, the Latin being accompanied by a Greek translation. The first discovery was incomplete, but other parts of it in Greek were subsequently found at Apollonia, and the whole has been

published by Th. Mommsen, under the title *Res Gestæ Divi Augusti, ex Monumentis Ancyranis et Apolloniensibus*: Berlin, 1865. For the history of the time this monument is of great importance.

87. **C. Cilnius Mæcenas**, the friend of Augustus, whose name has become proverbial for a patron of literature, was born about B.C. 69, and died in B.C. 8. He belonged to an ancient and noble Etruscan family, and was frequently employed by Augustus in diplomatic missions, when it was necessary to mediate or conciliate, for Mæcenas was a man of almost feminine gentleness, and fond of ease and peace; hence he never took any serious part in public affairs, and being without ambition, he was satisfied with the rank of a simple eque^s. He was always delicate and exceedingly vain, though his vanity was of a harmless nature; and he owes his celebrity more to his connection with Augustus and the most eminent poets of the time than to any literary merits of his own. His prose compositions are blamed for their affected and ornamental style; and his poetical compositions appear to have been mere trifles in various meters.

88. **M. Vipsanius Agrippa** was born in B.C. 63, and from early youth was connected by friendship with Augustus. He was successively invested with all the high offices of the state, and was the ablest general of Augustus at sea as well as on land. He was several times sent on embassies, and proved himself, on all occasions, a faithful and trustworthy servant of his master. In B.C. 21 he married a daughter of Augustus, and died in B.C. 13. He appeared several times as an orator, and his speeches are praised as splendid and worthy of a citizen of the highest rank. His prose is described as somewhat rustic, but healthy, and whatever he did or wrote had a practical object. Thus we find that he wrote *Commentarii* about the distribution of water at Rome from the aqueducts. The measurement of the empire and its description, ordered by Augustus with the assistance of the ablest men, was undertaken at the suggestion of Agrippa, who himself drew up a sketch of a map of the world and chorographical commentaries, the former of which was completed by Augustus. Lastly, Agrippa wrote an account of his own life, which consisted of at least two books, which are now lost.

89. **C. Asinius Pollio**, born in B.C. 75, supported Cæsar during the civil war, and, after his death, would have joined the Pompeian party if they had shown more courage and skill; but as it was, he, after long hesitation, joined M. Antony. In B.C. 40 he was consul, and made war upon the Parthini, in Illyricum, who had supported Brutus. He subsequently fell out with M. Antony, and being of too independent a spirit to attach himself to Augustus, he withdrew from public life, and devoted himself to literature and oratory, and died A.D. 5, in a villa, near Tusculum. Asinius Pollio wrote:—

1. *Tragedies*, which are called worthy of Sophocles, and were actually performed on the stage, as must be inferred from Horace; but no further particulars are known about them. That he also composed erotic poetry is attested by Pliny; but his great work was

2. *Historia*, i.e., a history of the civil wars from the first triumvirate, in B.C. 60, down at least to the battle of Philippi. The work seems to have consisted of three books. As the fragments contain no mention of the war between Augustus and M. Antony, it is probable that he did not carry the history so far, which would indeed have been a hazardous and dangerous undertaking.

3. *Orations*, both of a judicial and of a political character, which were composed with extreme care, but were inferior in elegance and polish to the speeches of Cicero, whose style he disapproved of. Most of his speeches were judicial and delivered in defence of some one. When political oratory could no longer be indulged in, he wrote rhetorical exercises (*declamationes*), which are said to have been rather florid.*

4. *Criticisms*.—Some of the criticisms ascribed to him seem to have been contained in his *Historia* or in his speeches or declamations; but a separate book (*liber*) is mentioned in which he censured the works of Sallust, and it is well known that he found fault with Livy for his *Patavinitas*, whatever that may be. Lastly, we have three letters of his addressed to Cicero. It may be added that after his triumph over the

* The fragments of his speeches are collected by H. Meyer, *Oratorum Rom. Fragmenta*, p. 487, foll.

Parthini, in B.C. 39, he established a public library at Rome, an example which was followed by Augustus who founded two more, one called Octaviana and the other in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

90. **M. Valerius Messala Corvinus** was born in B.C. 58, the same year in which Livy was born. His death cannot be assigned to an earlier date than A.D. 9. Although he was absent from Rome at the time when Cæsar was murdered his name was put on the proscription list in B.C. 43. He remained with Brutus and Cassius, next to whom he was the principal man in their army. After the battle of Philippi he joined M. Antony, for his name had been effaced from the list of the proscribed; but unable to brook the conduct of Antony he joined Augustus, who received him with open arms, and procured for him the consulship, B.C. 31, in place of Antony. Messala remained faithful to Augustus, but without giving up his former friends or principles. He is praised by Cicero as an orator, and Tacitus says that he was gentler, sweeter, and in his expressions more careful than Cicero. His style was most correct.* Messala also wrote bucolics in the style of those of Vergil, and seems to have composed in Greek memoirs on the events of his own time. He even wrote on grammatical subjects, as a book of his on the letter S is mentioned. The poet Tibullus addressed to him several poems which are still extant, and show the high esteem with which he was looked up to by his contemporaries.

91. We have seen that Augustus himself as well as his intimate friends all tried their hands more or less at poetry, though scarcely one of them deserves the name of a poet. The first real poet, and at the same time the oldest of those of the Augustan age, was **L. Varius Rufus**, born about B.C. 74; he was an admirer of Cæsar and afterwards of Augustus, and a friend of Vergil and Horace. He composed epic poetry, in which he celebrated the exploits of Agrippa and Augustus; but the best of his poetical productions appears to have been a tragedy called *Thyestes*, which Quintilian says might stand comparison with any Greek drama. It was Varius who first introduced Horace to Mæcenas, and it was he who published Vergil's *Æneid*, notwithstanding the author's wish that it

* See the fragments of his speeches in H. Meyer, p. 503, foll.

should be destroyed.* He seems to have died about B.C. 14. **Æmilius Macer**, of Verona, a contemporary of Varius, and likewise a friend of Vergil, was the author of didactic poems, in which he imitated Nicander; we know little of them beyond their titles—as *Ornithogonia*, in several books; *Theriaca*, and a work on plants. The subjects of his poetry evidently referred to natural history. He died in Asia, B.C. 16.

92. **P. Vergilius Maro** was born at Andes, a village near Mantua, on the 15th of October, B.C. 70. He was the son of respectable but by no means wealthy parents, who lived to see their son's great success in life, and were indebted to him for the care he took of them in their old age. He received his first education at Verona, and having assumed the toga virilis proceeded to Mediolanum; after a short stay at Rome, he went to Naples, where he received instruction in Greek from Parthenius. He also devoted himself seriously to the study of philosophy, and, together with Varius, attended the lectures of the Epicurean Syro, though the system of Epicurus seems to have had few attractions for him; he preferred the teachings of Plato and the Stoics. One of his earliest poetical essays was no doubt the one entitled *Culex*. After the death of Cæsar he seems to have returned to his native place, and there in the stillness of country life to have formed the plan of imitating the idyls of Theocritus. To this period belong the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 9th eclogues, the first two of which are rather weak imitations of Theocritus. In this peaceful occupation he was disturbed by the consequences of the civil war. For when, after the battles of Philippi, B.C. 41, Octavianus rewarded his veterans with assignments of land, a large portion of their territory was taken from the Mantuans because they had not supported Octavianus during the war. On that occasion Vergil lost his little estate, which was assigned to a veteran of the name of Claudius. He complained of this proceeding, and, on the recommendation of Mæcenas, Octavianus ordered the estate to be restored to Vergil, who expressed his gratitude for this act in his first eclogue. But fresh troubles arose during

* The few remains of Varius' *Thyestes* may be seen in O. Ribbeck's *Tragicorum Lat. Reliquiæ*, 347.

the war of Perusia, B.C. 41, and Vergil was again in danger of losing his property: a centurion of the name of Arrius took possession of it, and even threatened the life of its owner. Vergil yielded to force and went to Rome, where he composed the 9th eclogue, and again obtained the restoration of his property, this time through the mediation of his friend Varus. Vergil's gratitude for this act of kindness is expressed in his 6th eclogue. About this time Vergil seems to have lived mostly at Rome, where he became so intimate with Mæcenas that, in B.C. 39, he could introduce Horace to him; and two years later both poets accompanied Mæcenas on his journey to Brundisium. Before this journey he seems to have finished his tenth eclogue, with which he appears to have closed the pastoral poetry, probably because he had already resolved to write the *Georgica*, which he finished at Naples in B.C. 30, after having spent seven years on its composition. It is possible that even while engaged upon the *Georgica* he formed the plan of the *Æneid*; but at all events, in B.C. 25, after long preparation, he had made a commencement of it; and, in B.C. 23, he was able to read to Augustus the 2nd, 4th, and 6th books. At his reading the 6th book, the mother of Marcellus, who was present, is said to have been so much moved that she fainted, and to have given to Vergil a large sum of money for every verse. In B.C. 19 he resolved to go to Greece and Asia, and to spend there three years upon revising and publishing the *Æneid*, intending thereafter to devote himself entirely to philosophy. But when on his way from Athens he met Augustus, who was returning from the East, and determined to accompany him to Rome, but was seized by an illness which the sea voyage only aggravated. He died a few days after his arrival at Brundisium, in September, B.C. 19. When he felt death approaching he asked for the MS. of the *Æneid*, intending to burn it, because he had not been able to give it his final revision; but as this was refused he made it a stipulation in his will that the poem should be burnt. Notwithstanding this express wish, Augustus would not allow it to be destroyed, and made it over to Vergil's friends, Varius and Tucca, to be published as it was, without any addition or alteration. Vergil had also expressed a wish that his remains should be

buried at Naples, where he had spent so many happy days, and wrote his own epitaph, which may still be read on his supposed tomb close to the entrance of the tunnel of Mount Posilipo. That place is still visited with respectful reverence by all visitors to Naples, but it has been proved that that spot cannot possibly have been the burial place of Vergil.

Vergil is described as a tall man, of a somewhat rustic appearance, who was rarely in good health, suffering much from his stomach and from headache. He had a house at Rome, on the Esquiline, near the gardens of Mæcenas, though he preferred living in Campania and Sicily. He was of a most kindly disposition, and ever ready to help others where he could. All the poets of the time, however jealous they might be of one another, found in his friendship, as it were, a neutral ground on which they could meet. The same characteristics of Vergil as a man appear also in his poems. The quiet dignity and gentle earnestness which pervade all his works are only the reflex of the poet's pure and peaceful soul. Hence he is most successful in his idyllic and sentimental poetry, where he describes love, domestic and country life. But by his very nature he was not well qualified to compose a grand epic like the *Æneid*, which he undertook only at the urgent request of Augustus, and where his descriptions are often exaggerated, unnatural, and forced. He possesses no real poetical genius, but only talent, and art had to supply what nature had refused to him. The *Georgics* and the *Æneid* were not produced without hard and protracted labour—the composition of the *Æneid* occupied him ten years. Most of the faults as well as the excellencies of Vergil are the result of trying to do by art that which a real genius would have produced, as it were, spontaneously. Before his time Roman poets had regarded the form of their works as a matter of secondary importance; but Vergil, as well as Horace, considered poetry as an art, which allowed of no offence against euphony, or against the rules of language and prosody. By this thorough correctness in every respect Vergil's poetical diction and style became the model for all later poets, as Cicero had become the standard of good prose. But Vergil is wanting in originality, creative power, fresh-

ness, and simplicity. Whatever learning and industry could do he has done, but with all this we often miss the genuine poetic vein. The following is a list of his works :—

93. *Bucolica*, consisting of ten eclogues, which were written between the years B.C. 42 and 37. They are pastoral poems written in imitation of Theocritus. Natural as this kind of poetry may have been in Sicily, in the north of Italy it had no natural or national basis; hence the persons introduced by Vergil are mere figures, devoid of the natural warmth and life we find in the characters brought before us in Theocritus. What made these idyls popular was the frequent allusion to persons and occurrences of the time, and to incidents in the poet's own life. The different eclogues were at first published separately; but afterwards the author himself collected and published them in the form in which they have come down to us.

94. *Georgica*, in four books, were composed between the years B.C. 37 and 30. The first treats of agriculture, the second of arboriculture, the third of cattle breeding, and the fourth of bees. The subjects of this poem had at all times been of great interest to the Romans, and must have been more so to Vergil, whose early years had been spent in the midst of agricultural pursuits. Whether he wrote the *Georgics* at the request of others, or whether the thought originated in his own mind, is not certain; but it is clear that his heart and soul were in the work; for, notwithstanding the dryness of the subject, he has contrived to treat it with a warmth and animation which could only spring from personal experience and a genuine love of the subject, and which make us inclined to regard the *Georgics* as Vergil's best work. His object in composing it was not to teach agriculture, but to draw men towards it and interest them in it. Such an object was of high importance at a time when large portions of Italy had been ravaged and desolated by the civil wars. Vergil in this, as in his other works, seems to have carefully studied Greek writers on the same subject.

95. The *Æneis*, in twelve books, was begun in B.C. 30, and not finished at the time of Vergil's death; but published by Varius and Plotius Tucca. Not only had the author no opportunity of revising his work; but it does not appear even

to be complete, for the last book ends with the victory over Turnus, and does not contain the final settlement of Æneas in Latium or his death, which evidently formed part of the plan which the poet had proposed to himself. The hero of the poem is the Trojan Æneas, who, in his flight from Troy, after many wanderings and adventures, lands in Latium, where his descendants founded in Rome a second Ilium. The writers of the Augustan age, from flattery towards Augustus, did their best to inculcate the belief that the Romans were the descendants of the Trojans, as thereby they connected the Julian gens with Iulus, the son of Æneas and grandson of Venus, and thus established a kind of divine right in the person of Augustus. Vergil therefore, no doubt, was complying with the wish of the emperor when he undertook the task. The subject had been treated before by Nævius and Ennius, but never in such a connected and complete form, so that Vergil had to draw upon his own resources; and, in order to make up for the want of creative power, he made most extensive studies on the ancient history and institutions of Italy, without a knowledge of which the *Æneid* cannot be rightly understood.* Out of these legendary materials and a vast deal of antiquarian learning, Vergil, by his mastery over everything connected with the form of poetry, has produced a work which surpasses all epic poems that were produced either before or after him; and has acquired a popularity which even the severe criticisms of modern times have not been able to destroy. Still, however, even from an artistic point of view, the poem has great defects; but in speaking of them we must not forget that the poet himself was conscious of them, and wished the work to be burned. The first great defect is the want of originality: Homer's *Odyssey*, the Cyclic poets, Apollonius Rhodius, Nævius, and Ennius have all been laid under contribution to make up the *Æneid*. The second defect is that the poet continually mixes what is purely mythical with the ideas and institutions of a later age, and mingles Greek with Roman ideas. The consequence of this is that the poem lacks life, and truth, and reality.

* For this reason alone it is an utter mistake to place the *Æneid* in the hands of beginners.

96. *Smaller Poems*.—Vergil's commentator, Servius, enumerates eight smaller poems which were attributed to him:—

a. *Culex*, dedicated to Octavius, in 412 hexameter lines, contains the history of a gnat, which stings and thereby rouses a sleeping shepherd and saves his life; but the gnat is killed by the shepherd, whereupon its ghost appears to the shepherd in a dream, and demands and obtains an honourable burial. The whole of this playful story is overladen with mythological and rhetorical embellishments, in the style of the Alexandrians. The work is probably the first that Vergil ever published; its genuineness is established beyond a doubt.

b. *Ciris* describes, in 540 hexameter lines, the story of the change of the Megarian princess, Scylla, into the bird, Ciris, because she had betrayed her father, Nisus. It is addressed to Messala; but both internal evidence, and the fact that it is not mentioned by any contemporary writer, render it probable that we have here not a work of Vergil, but a clever composition of some one of the Augustan age who had read the *Æneid*.

d. *Moretum*, a pleasing idyll, in 123 hexameter lines, describing how a peasant rises at early dawn, bakes his bread, prepares his porridge, and then proceeds to his work. The subject is one which Vergil might have chosen; but the author surpasses everything that Vergil has written in freshness and in the sharp delineation of character. It may have been written by a contemporary of Vergil, but possibly by Vergil himself at a later period. The language and versification are masterly.

e. *Copa*, a little elegy, in form and style entirely Vergilian, but the merry tone of the poem is hardly what we should expect from Vergil; the poem, however, is one of the best of the Augustan age.

f. *Catalecta*, a collection of fourteen poems, in elegiac and iambic metres, on various subjects. Some of them are ascribed to Vergil on good authority, and the others are not unworthy of him; in fact, all seem to have been written in the time of Vergil, if not by him.

Other works which are ascribed to Vergil, such as *Pria-*

peia and *Diræ*, cannot possibly be regarded as having proceeded from his pen.

No prose work of Vergil is mentioned except his correspondence with Augustus, which seems to have been published.*

97. *Q. Horatius Flaccus*, born at Venusia on the 8th of December, B.C. 65, was the son of a freedman who possessed a small property at Venusia, where Horace received his first education. But as the school at Venusia did not appear good enough to the father, he took his son to Rome and there had him educated by the best teachers, as if he had been the son of an eque or senator, always watching his son and guarding him against evil influences. Horace had learned Greek in his native place, and, about B.C. 45, he, like many other young Romans, proceeded to Athens to complete his education under the philosophers Theomnestus and Cratippus. In B.C. 44, Brutus, after the murder of Cæsar, arrived at Athens, where he won over to his cause all the young Romans who were studying there, and among them Horace, who accompanied Brutus to the war, and was at once made *tribunus militum*. In B.C. 42, the republican party being defeated at Philippi, Horace with the rest took to flight, but did not join the Pompeian party. Availing himself of the amnesty, he returned to Rome; but as, through the distribution of lands among the veterans, he was deprived of his patrimony, he sought and obtained the office of a quæstor's clerk. The poor remuneration for this employment, as he himself says, caused him to come forward as a poet, having already gained some reputation by satires and epodes. Vergil and Varius introduced him to Mæcenæ, who, about the beginning of B.C. 38, admitted him to the circle of his friends, and was accompanied by him on his journey to Brundisium in B.C. 37. A few years later Mæcenæ gave him a small estate in the country of the Sabines, north of Tibur. Through the mediation of Mæcenæ and Asinius Pollio, Horace became acquainted with Augustus, who wished to make him his

* There are innumerable editions of the works of Vergil, the best of which are those of G. Ph. E. Wagner, 1830-1832, in 4 vols.; of O. Ribbeck: Leipzig, 1859, in 3 vols.; and of J. Conington: London, 1858, 3 vols. A good school edition is that of Th. Ladewig, 4th edition: Berlin, 1865.

private secretary. Horace declined the offer, that he might not lose his personal independence. The emperor appears not to have resented this refusal, but afterwards only complained that Horace never mentioned his name in his poems. In the course of time, however, his connection with Augustus became more intimate, as is abundantly shown in his later productions. His friendship with Mæcenas also continued to the end of his life, and even on his deathbed Mæcenas is said to have implored Augustus not to forget his friend Horace. The poet died soon after his patron, on the 27th of November, B.C. 8, so suddenly that he had no time to make a will, but only declared, in the presence of witnesses, that he wished to leave all he possessed to Augustus. He was buried on the Esquiline, near the tomb of Mæcenas.

98. Horace was short and stout, and his hair and eyes were dark; during the last twelve years of his life he was often ill, and at times hypochondriacal. He was never married, and in one of his satires he himself describes how he usually spent his time. As regards his character we may briefly describe him as a man of the world who knew his own nature well, and earnestly strove to get rid of qualities which he knew to be bad. He never allowed himself to be overcome by a feeling, but always preserved that equal temperament which he describes as *nil admirari*. He loved his independence; hence he was ill at ease in the bustle of the city, where so many things had to be considered; hence he avoided any official position which might interfere with his freedom, and hence, lastly, he never married. He had always sufficient resources within himself; but his kindly nature preserved him from falling into selfishness and disregard of the feelings of others. The charge of immorality which is often brought against him does not apply to him alone, but to the age in which he lived. He was neither a hero nor a great man; but he did not claim to be either the one or the other. All he aimed at was to be an interesting and amiable man of the world, such as the world then was, and that object he certainly did attain. In his earlier years he embraced the philosophy of Epicurus, because it seemed to justify his own doings; but at a later period he inclined more towards the Stoics, who had before afforded him only subjects for laugh-

ter and merriment, but he never gave himself up either to one system or the other, and never went beyond a certain dilettantism.

99. Horace began his literary career as a writer of satires, which, like Lucilius, he uses as the vehicle for setting forth his own personal affairs and his views on a variety of subjects. The recent political events, and the part he had taken in them, rendered it necessary to abstain from political discussion in his satires, which accordingly treat exclusively of social and literary questions. He therefore criticises and ridicules perversities and absurdities as they occur in ordinary life; but does not touch the actual vices of his time, which would have required a different treatment. He sometimes discusses in one satire different matters, which apparently have no connection; but a closer examination shows that, after all, they were not composed without a definite plan. Most of the *satires* in the second book were written in the form of dialogues, and show a higher degree of artistic skill than those of the first. He wrote them in hexameter verse, after the example of Lucilius; but called both the satires and epistles *Sermones*, because the language is simply that of ordinary conversation, without any attempt at poetical embellishment.

The *Epodes* appear to have been written about the same time as the satires, which they resemble in their somewhat petulant and youthful vehemence and aggressiveness, but with this difference, that the epodes are directed against individual persons, while the satires criticise whole classes and conditions of men. In the epodes Horace adopted the lyric metres, and shows himself as an independent follower of the Greek Archilochus. The later epodes show a more dispassionate and mature mind, and resemble his odes (*carmina*) so much that they might be classed among them.

When Horace had reached the age of about thirty-five, and had acquired the technical skill in managing the lyric metres which he had already tried in his epodes, he resolved to introduce among his countrymen the poetry of Alcæus and Sappho in his *Carmina* or *Odes*. This resolution he carried out during a period of at least seven years, the result of which were the first three books of odes. Some of them are close imitations of his Greek originals, while the later ones

are freer and more independent, and are sometimes composed with such masterly skill that the reader is tempted to regard them as originals. In the odes we perceive the same spirit as in the satires, reflection and criticism, and a mind in many ways censuring the avarice, extravagance, and unbridled licentiousness of the times; on the other hand we see the poet himself enjoying with moderation the pleasures of life. The skill displayed in these compositions was not acquired without great labour, for Horace, like Vergil, lacked the true poetical genius and enthusiasm, and art had to supply what nature had denied him. To the first three books of odes he afterwards added a fourth, the poems of which are, as far as their form is concerned, the most perfect of all his compositions, and display his lyrical talent in the most brilliant manner. Wherever he describes his own feelings he rises to the sublime. In his lyric poetry we can clearly discern three stages; that of the exercises after Greek models, imitations of Greek models, and lastly, the independent treatment of subjects of the life that surrounded him, or of his own thoughts and feelings. The form is everywhere Greek. His language is of exquisite beauty, harmony, and euphony, and he everywhere hits upon the right word to express that which he wishes to express.

The *Epistles*, which, like the satires, Horace calls *Sermones*, resemble them also in their character and form; but they are the productions of a riper age: they show greater calmness and earnestness, and greater care is taken of the style and versification. They are indeed addressed to definite persons, but most of them go beyond, and discuss the most different relations of life in a style rich, though not overladen, with appropriate rules and maxims. They contain the results of a long experience, stated with calmness and a clear view of human life. Of special interest are those treating of the poet's relation to Mæcenas; others explain his own position in literature, recommending the imitation of the perfection of the Greeks in matters of form, as opposed to the capricious fancy of imitating the older Roman poets. The longest and most important of the epistles is that to the brothers Piso, which Quintilian calls *Liber de arte poetica*, and in which Horace, without pretending to give a complete theory of

poetical composition, discusses a number of literary questions, especially in regard to the drama. His remarks are very appropriate, and show much independence of judgment, though here, as elsewhere, he was building upon the works of Greeks.

The works of Horace soon became extremely popular, and were much read in schools. Scholars and grammarians wrote commentaries upon them, one of which, the commentary of Porphyrio, is still extant.*

100. The literary friends and contemporaries of Horace were C. Valgius Rufus, Aristius Fuscus, Fundanius, Titius, and Servius Sulpicius, all of whom distinguished themselves more or less either as poets, or as writers on rhetorical or grammatical subjects.

1. *C. Valgius Rufus*, consul in B.C. 12, is spoken of as a man specially qualified to rival Homer in epic poetry. That he was the author of elegies and epigrams is well attested. He further wrote grammatical treatises in the form of letters, and a Latin work on rhetoric, based upon a Greek treatise on the same subject by Apollodorus of Pergamum; but none of his works have reached our time.

2. *Aristius Fuscus* is said to have composed dramas, either comedies or tragedies; but is known to have written a book on grammar, which was dedicated to Asinius Pollio.

3. *Fundanius* seems to have written comedies, of which, however, not a fragment now remains.

4. *Titius* is spoken of as a lyric poet of a high order, and as a tragic writer; but it is not known whether he ever published anything.

5. *Servius Sulpicius* is mentioned as the author of erotic poetry; otherwise nothing is known about him, except that Horace mentions him among his learned friends.

101. *Domitius Marsus*, a younger contemporary of Horace, who, however, never mentions him, survived Vergil and Tibullus, but died long before the banishment of Ovid,

* The discussions on the life of Horace, on the time when the different poems were written, and the editions of his works, are countless. The best modern editions of his collected works are those of Orelli, 3rd edition, 1850, in 2 vols.; and the school editions of Macleane, Dillenburger, Düntzer, and a host of others.

which took place in A.D. 9. He was a friend of Mæcenas, and the forerunner of Martial, as the author of sharp and cutting epigrams, a collection of which seems to have been entitled *Cicuta*. He also wrote erotic poems, one of which was called *Melenis*; an epic poem entitled *Amazonis Fabellæ*; and a rhetorical work, *De Urbanitate*.*

Other poets of this period were *Anser*, author of erotic songs; *Codrus*, a friend of Vergil's, and apparently the author of elegies; *Bavius* and *Mævius*, opponents of Vergil; *Pupius*, author of sentimental tragedies; and *C. Melissus*, a freedman of Mæcenas, and a native of Spolegium, who was appointed by Augustus superintendent of the library in the portico of Octavia, and wrote books of *Ineptiæ* or *Joci*. He further introduced a new kind of comedies which he called *Trabeata*.

102. *Albius Tibullus* was the most distinguished among the writers of elegies during the time of Augustus. He was a man of equestrian rank, and born at Rome; but the year of his birth is uncertain, and all we know is that he died, as a young man, soon after Vergil. The assignment of lands to the veterans, after the battle of Philippi, appears to have caused some loss to his father, but still to have left enough to the son to live contentedly and comfortably. He was an intimate friend of *Valerius Messala*, whom he seems to have accompanied in the war of Actium; afterwards, when *Messala* accompanied *Octavianus* to Egypt, *Tibullus*, who was with him, being taken ill remained in *Corcyra*. At a later period, however, he again accompanied *Messala* in the war against the *Aquitani*ans. After B.C. 27, *Tibullus* does not seem to have left Italy. He is described by *Horace* as a handsome and amiable man, and as possessed of ample means.

(In his elegies he followed the Alexandrian poets, inasmuch as he treated almost exclusively of erotic subjects; but instead of their dry learning, his poems breathe deep and warm feelings. His language is natural and simple, yet he describes with consummate skill the various moods of a longing soul. (His love of quiet country life,) and his deep longing for loving sympathy, impart to his poems a

* The remains of his works are collected in *Weichert's Poetarum Lat. Vitzæ, etc.*, p. 264, foll.

(tone of gentle sadness.) The best elegies are those addressed to his beloved *Delia*; others have evidently not received the author's final revision, which was prevented by his sudden death.

The person who first published the elegies of *Tibullus* added some others which had been composed by friends of *Messala*, viz., those of *Sulpicia*, and those of one *Lygdamus*, which form the third book. This book, which contains six poems, is the production of younger contemporaries and imitators of *Tibullus*, but without his talent.*

103. *Sextus Propertius* likewise wrote elegies about the same time. He was born, about B.C. 50, in Umbria, perhaps in the town of *Asisium*. There is no allusion in his poems to any event after the year B.C. 16, but this does not enable us to fix the year of his death. He lost his father and a large portion of his patrimony at an early period, and was left to the care of his mother, who indulged him in every way, so that instead of preparing himself for any serious pursuit, he was allowed, even as a youth, to plunge into the pleasures and frivolities of the capital, where he attracted some notice among certain classes as a poetical genius. He therefore devoted himself entirely to the service of the muses, of friends, and to his love for *Cynthia* and others. After having published some of his poems, he became acquainted with *Mæcenas*, and lived near him on the *Esquiline*, but being much younger than *Mæcenas*, he could not form as intimate a connection with him as did *Vergil* and *Horace*. He was urged by his influential friend to write epic poetry on the events of the time; but had good sense enough to see that such an undertaking was beyond his powers. He not only took no part in public life, but even in his private relations he was more effeminate and luxurious than most men. (Amorousness is the fundamental feature of his character) he indulges in sentimentality even where his love is not requited; he is jealous and submissive, and wishes to die in the arms of his beloved. He often speaks of his ill health and sleeplessness, which may have been the

* The best critical edition of *Tibullus* is that of *C. Lachmann* (together with the poems of *Catullus* and *Propertius*): Berlin, 1829; and that of *L. Dissen*: Göttingen, 1835, in 2 vols.

cause of his sentimentality, as well as the result of his mode of life. (His poems, being imitations of the Alexandrians, are full of mythological learning, and often difficult to understand; but he often surpasses his models in freshness and passionateness.) His style and versification are correct and vigorous.

The chronological arrangement of his poems, and their division into books, have exercised the ingenuity of scholars, and while some distribute them into four books, others have arranged them into five. They are often printed together with the works of Catullus and Tibullus.*

104. Publius Ovidius Naso was born on the 20th of March B.C. 43, at Sulmo in the country of the Pelignians. He was the second son of a wealthy father. Together with his brother, who, however, died in his twentieth year, he studied at Rome under the most eminent teachers, such as Porcius Latro, and Arellius Fuscus. At the request of his father he pursued rhetorical studies, though he found greater attractions in poetry. He did, indeed, for some time devote himself to public business, for he held the offices of *triumvir capitalis* and *centumvir*, but he had little taste for business, and preferred the society and conversation of the poets of his time, among whom he mentions Æmilius Macer, Propertius, Ponticus, Bassus, and Horace. At Rome he made himself known even at an early age by erotic poems, and gave himself up to the voluptuous pleasures of the time. He himself states that he went to Athens and Asia to complete his education. He had already reached the age of fifty, when he was sent by Augustus into banishment to Tomi, a town on the north-west coast of the Black Sea. It was a *relegatio* not *exilium*, and he retained the possession of his property. Ovid mentions the cause of this banishment only in a general way as *carmen et error*. The *carmen* was no doubt his poem entitled *Ars Amandi*, which Augustus considered dangerous to morals; Ovid himself often alludes to it, and endeavours to justify himself. The second cause, the *error*, he does not explain, but from various allusions to it in his

* The best editions of Propertius are that of C. Lachmann: Berlin, 1829; and more especially that of W. A. B. Hertzberg, in 2 vols.: Halle, 1843-45.

poems, we must infer that Ovid had seen something or assisted in something which was painful or disgraceful to the imperial family, and it is commonly supposed that Ovid had been an accomplice in the adultery of Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus, with D. Silanus. In the autumn of A.D. 9, Ovid left Rome, and went to his place of exile. His whole life had been spent at Rome in the society of his friends, and the removal from it to a semi-barbarous country was more than his effeminate nature could bear, and he wrote the most pitiful, humiliating letters to Rome, begging to be allowed to return, or at least to go to another place of banishment. At last the emperor, either moved or wearied by the incessant entreaties, made up his mind to recall him, but was prevented by death, in A.D. 14, from carrying out his plan. His successor, Tiberius, turned a deaf ear to the petitions and flatteries of the poet, who accordingly died at Tomi, in A.D. 17, the same year in which Livy breathed his last. Ovid had been married three times, and his third wife, who remained true to him during his exile, survived him; his father and mother had died long before.

105. Ovid was one of the most prolific poets of his time, and possessed the most extraordinary facility in composing verses; he himself says that whatever he tried to say turned out to be verses. He calls himself the fourth Roman writer of elegies, and this is really his chief characteristic; for it is in elegy, especially the erotic elegy, that his peculiar character is most clearly set forth. (He is susceptible to all sensual impressions and dependent on them; his character has no true moral foundation, and hence its weakness; any feeling, whether of joy or of pain, completely overpowers him. Notwithstanding this, his feelings are never deep, he only plays, without earnestness and without concern, with the great problems of life.) (Hence his poems are not the product of artistic labour and diligent study, but the spontaneous outpourings of a too fertile imagination.) We find in him no trace of the sadness of those writers who had witnessed the last struggles of the republic and the rising power of absolutism. He had been born with the monarchy, and knew no other Rome than the monarchical, where peace had produced stagnation.

The following is a list of his poems in the probable chronological order of their composition and publication:—

1. *Amores*, in three books, consists of a series of erotic pictures, full of sensuality, connected with the name of Corinna. They probably contain, for the most part, the poet's own experiences. He had at first published an edition in five books, which he afterwards reduced to three.

2. *Epistolæ*, sometimes called *Heroides*, a series of fictitious love letters, supposed to have been written by ancient heroines to their absent lovers. This kind of poetical epistle was first devised by Ovid; their number is twenty-one; but the genuineness of some is very doubtful.

3. *Medicamina Faciei*, a fragment of 100 lines, on the arts of a lady's toilet.

4. *Ars Amatoria*, or *Ars Amandi*, in three books, contains instructions for lovers of both sexes, how to form and keep up such connections. The females, of whom the poet speaks, seem to be mainly *libertinæ*. He took up this subject with evident gusto, and displays in a pleasing manner extensive knowledge of the world, and especially of the female sex. It has already been mentioned that Augustus, though himself anything but a moral man, thought such a work dangerous to his schemes of reform and of encouraging matrimony.

5. *Remedia Amoris*, in one book, contains instructions about the means of getting rid of the troublesome passion of love. It is more diffuse than the *Ars Amatoria*; but composed with the same technical skill. These erotic works, all of which are written in the elegiac metre, were published before the author's banishment. He also wrote a tragedy, *Medea*, which is much praised by ancient critics, but of which nothing has come down to our time.

The following work, which belongs to a later period of the poet's life, is the only one written in hexameters:—

6. *Metamorphoses*, in fifteen books, are a collection of those myths, which contain accounts of changes from one form into another, from chaos down to the metamorphosis of Julius Cæsar into a star. The subjects are of course taken from Greek sources, but treated with great freedom. They form a series of bright and dark pictures from a world big with wonders and miracles. Ovid himself relates that on

his departure for Tomi, he burnt his manuscript; but restored it during his exile, and published it without any careful revision.

7. *Tristia*, in five books, and in elegiacs, consist of letters which he wrote on his journey to and at Tomi; they are full of touching descriptions of his wretched situation, of his regrets, and urgent requests for pardon. One letter to Augustus, and those to his wife, are most touching and beautiful.

8. *Epistolæ ex Ponto*, in four books, are of the same character as the *Tristia*, but differ from them by the circumstance that the persons to whom they are addressed are named at the head of each letter, while in those of the *Tristia* the names are discreetly omitted. As the subject is ever the same, we cannot help admiring the poet's inexhaustible resources of language, and the variety of forms in which he expresses his thoughts and feelings, although the composition is not free from all kinds of carelessness, which can only be excused by the depressed and desponding state of the author's mind.

9. *Ibis*, in one book, is in form an elegy, but its subject is a passionate attack upon some enemy at Rome, in which various mythological subjects are introduced.

During his exile, Ovid wrote several smaller poems which are now lost, one on the triumph of Tiberius; another in the language of the Getæ, among whom he lived, in honour of Augustus; and a third on the death of Augustus. Lastly, he wrote a book entitled *Halieutica*, of which a considerable fragment in hexameters still exists. It was left by the poet in an incomplete state, and was not published till after his death. The fragment treats of the kinds of fishes found in the Euxine, but is of no particular value.

The most important work of Ovid, from an historical and antiquarian point of view is—

10. The *Fasti*, which was to have been completed in twelve books, each treating of one month; but its completion was prevented by the author's banishment, as at the place of his exile he had no means of consulting the authorities on which the work had to be founded. Only the first half of it was left by Ovid in a tolerably finished state, and was published

after his death. The work is a kind of calendar, in which the different sidereal phenomena of each month, and the various festivals occurring in it are described, with their origin and their mode of celebration. The astronomical part shows that Ovid was not well acquainted with that branch of his subject; but the historical and archaeological part is worked out with greater care, and is based upon the ancient annals, the public *Fasti*, and on the works of Varro and others. Some information may have been derived from popular traditions current among the people of Rome. Although Ovid has treated the subject with poetical freedom, still the work is to us a mine of antiquarian information.*

106. Among the friends of Ovid who likewise wrote poetry, are—

1. *Ponticus*, who composed an epic poem, *Thebais*.
2. *Tuticanus*, who translated Homer's *Odyssey*.
3. *Macer*, who wrote epic poetry on subjects preceding the anger of Achilles, and the events subsequent to those of the *Iliad*, that is, *Antehomerica* and *Posthomerica*. This *Macer* may possibly be the Pompeius *Macer* to whom Augustus entrusted the arrangement of the libraries.
4. *Sabinus*, who wrote epistles in reply to the *Heroides* of Ovid, and a work which seems to have resembled the *Fasti* of Ovid, but was never finished in consequence of the death of *Sabinus*.
5. *Cornelius Severus*, the author of an epic poem on the Sicilian war against Sextus Pompeius. A few fragments of his are collected in Wernsdorf's *Poete Lat. Minores*, p. 217, foll.
6. *Pedo Albinovanus*, who wrote an epic poem, *Theseis*, and another on the maritime expedition of Germanicus, of which a considerable fragment of twenty-four hexameter lines is still extant.

Besides these, several others tried their skill in composing epic poetry on mythical subjects, or on events of their own

* The collected works of Ovid have often been published; a good text of all of them is that edited by R. Merkel: Leipzig, 1851, in 3 vols. The same scholar has edited the *Fasti* with a valuable introduction: Berlin, 1851. An excellent school edition of the *Fasti* is that by A. F. Paley. The *Metamorphoses* have been edited innumerable times for school use.

time in the style of the Alexandrians; but little or nothing is known of them, except that their names are mentioned by Ovid or by the grammarians. Most of them did not rise above mediocrity.

107. During this period we meet with two didactic poets:

1. *Gratius Faliscus*, who wrote a didactic poem on the art of hunting (*Cynegetica*), of which a large portion is still extant; it is generally printed together with Ovid's *Halieutica*. The style is dry and heavy, and rarely rises to anything like genuine poetry.*

2. *M. Manilius* wrote a work entitled *Astronomica* in five books. Of his personal history nothing is known, but from the awkwardness of his style, especially in the first books, it has been inferred that he was a foreigner. He possesses extensive geographical knowledge, and is acquainted with Greek literature. His work must have been written between A.D. 9 and 14, i.e., before the death of Augustus. The author has a superstitious belief in astrology, otherwise his style is serious and thoughtful, and much resembles that of Lucretius, though his versification is more technically correct. Parts of the work approach the sublime, especially where he speaks of man and man's reason and discontent.†

In other departments of poetry, also, the later period of Augustus' reign is very barren, and those who did attempt to write poetry would scarcely be known even by name, if they were not mentioned by Ovid in his letters from Tomi, such as *Proculus*, *Bassus*, *Rufus*, *Turranus*, and *Gracchus*.

108. Among the prose writers of the Augustan age the historians occupy the foremost rank. We have already seen how Augustus himself, and several of the most eminent men of his court, wrote either autobiographies or the lives of others, or histories of recent times; and we know that *Asinius Pollio* undertook to write an extensive work on the civil wars, but gave it up, because it was dangerous to give a faithful and

* A good edition is that of M. Haupt, together with Ovid's *Halieutica* and other similar works: Leipzig, 1838.

† The best editions of *Manilius* are those of Jos. Scaliger: Leyden, 1600, with an extensive commentary; of R. Bentley: London, 1739; and Fr. Jacob: Berlin, 1846.

impartial account. Others, like Sulpicius Galba and Octavius Musa, seem to have written Roman histories in the old fashion, and Cincius probably wrote a similar history, with the view of flattering the family of the Julii; but by far the most important prose writer of the time is

Titus Livius, of Patavium (Padua), in the fertile plain of the Lower Po; he was born in B.C. 59, when Patavium already possessed the Roman franchise, and Livy was accordingly by birth a Roman citizen. He died, A.D. 17, in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius. His youth was thus passed during the last civil wars, while his best years belong to the reign of Augustus. During the wars between Cæsar and Pompey the Patavinians sided with the latter, and Livy thus formed in his youth the political opinions which he afterwards did not hesitate to avow in his history. At first he devoted himself to the study of rhetoric and philosophy, and in both he produced works which ranked among the best; but history also seems from the first to have had great attractions for him, and to it he devoted the best part of his life. He must have commenced his great work on the history of Rome between the years B.C. 27 and 25, and the latest event he mentions in it is the death and burial of Drusus, which took place in B.C. 9. The whole of the history, from the earliest times to the death of Drusus, was contained in 142 books; but it is very probable that Livy intended to continue it to the death of Augustus, in 150 books, which would make exactly fifteen decades, for the work was also divided into decades, each comprising ten books. It would further appear that Livy published each decade separately. He himself calls his work sometimes simply *Annales*, but others call it *Res Romanæ ab urbe Condita*, or *Ab urbe Condita Libri*.

Of this voluminous work only thirty-five books are preserved, namely, the first decade, and from Book XXI. to Book XLV.; of some of the others we possess only fragments. Some slight compensation for what is lost is afforded by brief summaries (*perioche*) of 140 books, the author of which is unknown, though they are generally ascribed to Florus. The cause of the irreparable loss of the greater part of Livy's work was no doubt partly its great bulk and partly

the fact that booksellers and others copied those parts only which were most commonly read in the schools.

The great reputation which Livy enjoyed, even during his lifetime, is attested by the fact that a stranger from Gades (Cadiz) travelled to Rome solely that he might have the pleasure of seeing the great historian. The same is further proved by the fact that Augustus, though he called him a Pompeian, entertained friendly feelings towards him, and allowed him to influence the education of Claudius (afterwards emperor).

History, in Livy's opinion, was not so much concerned about recording facts, as to point out what was instructive and deserving of imitation; and he wrote the history of Rome because it seemed to him beyond all others rich in great examples of virtue and patriotism. Yet with all this he is by no means pedantic; his poetic temperament and his keen sympathy with the religious and moral motives of human actions prevented his falling into that mistake. Few historians have as lively an appreciation of great historical characters as Livy; he describes and follows them with loving sympathy down to the end of their career. The same noble mind shows itself in the masterly manner in which he describes the tender feelings of love and affection. It is impossible to conceive a more fascinating narrator, and the speeches he puts into the mouths of his heroes are often true masterpieces of oratory. His object was to produce a pleasing, popular, and instructive history, and that object he fully attained; but aiming on the whole at this only, he did not concern himself much about the laborious searching among and sifting of historical documents, or about visiting the localities of great historical events. He was satisfied with following and repeating in his own way the statements of his predecessors, such as Fabius Pictor and Polybius, or even much inferior authorities. Another defect is, that he had no clear idea of constitutional or military affairs. Many mistakes appear to have arisen from the fact that at the outset he had no clear command of his whole subject, but studied it from year to year as he proceeded. But with all these drawbacks it is quite evident that he intended to tell the truth, and that he never knowingly or intentionally

violated it. Where he does so he is only misled by the ideas he had formed of the character of political parties. He favoured that of the optimates, and fearlessly expressed his opinions, even in the presence of Augustus. In his style and language we sometimes miss the strictly classical character, but his language is always animated and in good taste, and suited to the subject under discussion. What the *Patavinitas*, with which Asinius Pollio charged him, refers to, is unknown. Besides his great historical work, Livy also published philosophical discussions and dialogues, which Seneca ranks next to the philosophical writings of Cicero and Asinius Pollio; but these works are all lost.*

109. **Pompeius Trogus** flourished about the same time as Livy. His family belonged to the Gallic tribe of the Vocontii; but his grandfather, who had served under Pompey in the war against Sertorius, received the franchise and the name of Pompeius from his chief. His father, however, served under Julius Cæsar, and was employed by him in a variety of ways. Beyond these facts we know nothing about the life of Pompeius Trogus. He wrote a universal history in forty-four books, entitled *Historiæ Philippicæ*, in which he dwelt more especially on the history of Macedonia and of the successors of Alexander the Great. The history of Rome played a subordinate part in the work, probably because Livy's history, or portions of it, had already been published. The latest event mentioned in it was the sending back of the Roman standards by the Parthians in B.C. 20. This great work itself is lost, but we possess an abridgment of it, made by Justinus, who lived about A.D. 160, in the time of the Antonines. This abridgment seems to have satisfied the later Romans, in consequence of which the work of Trogus was forgotten and lost. The animated style of the original is still visible in the epitome of Justinus, and in the few fragments of it which are quoted by grammarians.†

* The best editions of all that is extant of Livy are those of Drakenborch: Amsterdam, 1730-1746, in 7 quarto vols.; and A. Weissenborn: Leipzig and Berlin, 1853, in 10 vols., who has also published a good edition of the text alone in Teubner's collection. School editions of separate books are very numerous.

† The best editions of Justin's abridgment are those of Fr. Dübner: Leipzig, 1831, in 2 vols.; and of J. Jeep: Leipzig, 1859.

Trogus also wrote a work, *De Animalibus*, consisting of at least ten books, which seems to have been little more than a somewhat inaccurate translation of Aristotle, and a work, *De Plantis*, probably based on Theophrastus.

110. Other historians of the same period are—

1. **Fenestella**, a careful inquirer into the history and antiquities of Rome, flourished during the later part of the reign of Augustus; he died at the age of seventy, in the sixth year of the reign of Tiberius, and was buried at Cumæ. He must, therefore, have been born in B.C. 52. His work seems to have been entitled *Annales*; it is very frequently referred to, and treated of the religious and political institutions of Rome, its state of civilization, its habits and customs, and its literature. He appears to have taken Varro for his guide. Unfortunately his work, which must have contained a great amount of useful and interesting information, is lost, and we possess only a few fragments of it.

2. **L. Arruntius** wrote a history of the Punic war, in which he imitated the style of Sallust. He is said to have been a Roman of the ancient stamp, and opposed to the new fashioned oratory of his time. He seems to have flourished about B.C. 20.

3. **Annius Fæstialis** appears to have written a work on early Roman history. A few other writers on Roman affairs are mentioned, but we know nothing of their productions; the following two, however, are of importance:—

4. **M. Verrius Flaccus**, a very learned freedman, who followed the examples of Fenestella and Varro, and was so distinguished as a teacher that Augustus not only appointed him instructor of his grandsons, but received him with his whole school into the palatium. He composed *Fasti*, which were engraved on a marble wall in the lower part of the Forum at Præneste, where a statue was erected to him. He also wrote several grammatical works, but the principal one was a kind of dictionary, *De verborum significatu*, in alphabetical order; words with the same initial letter filled several books. This work was a rich mine of information upon a variety of subjects connected with the language and antiquities of Rome; but, unfortunately, we possess only a portion of an abridgment which was made by Pom-

peius Festus, who probably lived in the fourth century after Christ. He divided his abridgment into twenty books. As this epitome was the probable cause of the loss of the original, so the work of Festus himself was superseded by another abridgment made by a priest, commonly called Paulus Diaconus, who lived in the time of Charlemagne, and thought the work of Festus too large, for those times were satisfied with very little learning; but even in this mutilated form the work contains most valuable information. Independently of it, we have a number of quotations from the original work of Verrius Flaccus and from the abridgment of Festus.*

Of the *Fasti* of Verrius Flaccus considerable fragments were discovered at Præneste in 1770, and are printed in F. A. Wolf's edition of Suetonius, and in Orelli's *Inscriptiones*, Vol. II., p. 379.

5. **C. Julius Hyginus**, a freedman of Augustus, who lived from about B.C. 64 to about A.D. 17. He was a native of Spain, but was believed by some to have been brought to Rome as a boy by Julius Cæsar, after the capture of Alexandria. At Rome he studied under eminent grammarians, and was appointed librarian of the Palatine library, established in B.C. 28. While holding this office he also occupied himself with teaching, and lived on terms of intimate friendship with Ovid. His knowledge was so extensive that he acquired the name of polyhistor. He is mentioned as the author of a great many works, of which only two have come down to our time, viz.:—

a. *Fabulae*, a mythological school-book, containing 277 *Fabulae*, which are specially interesting because the author has made extensive use of the Greek tragic writers; but the stories are related very briefly, and the language is not classical. Some of the fables are lost. The collection is sometimes referred to under the name of *genealogiæ*, because the genealogy of gods and heroes is chiefly dwelt upon.

b. *Poeticôn Astronomicôn libri quatuor*, addressed to one M. Fabius, is sometimes called simply *De Astronomia*. This work, like that containing the mythical tales, is so full of mistakes, and written in such a peculiar and awkward style,

* The principal edition of all that is extant of Verrius Flaccus himself, and his two epitomisers, is that of C. O. Müller: Leipzig, 1839.

that many scholars believe them to be later and much-altered editions of Hyginus' original works; the incorrectness in style, however, may be owing to the fact that the author was a foreigner. Some even believe that these works are not the productions of Hyginus at all, but unskilful compilations of some later grammarian, who published them under the name of the celebrated Hyginus.*

The other works of Hyginus, which are now lost, are mentioned by the ancients under the following titles: *De urbibus Italicis*, in at least two books; *De proprietatibus Deorum*; *De diis Penatibus*; *De Virgilio libri*, in at least five books; *De familiis Trojanis*; *De Agricultura*, in at least two books; *Cinna Propempticon*; *De vita rebusque illustrium virorum*, and a few others.

111. A few other grammarians, such as Santra and Sinnius Capito, wrote not only on grammatical, but also on literary and antiquarian subjects.

1. Of *Santra* we are told that he wrote a work, *De antiquitate verborum*, which consisted of at least three books, and a tragedy entitled *Nuntii Bacchi*, of which only a few lines are preserved.

2. *Sinnius Capito* wrote on grammatical subjects in the form of epistles, and apparently also a work on Roman archæology, in which he treated on the religion, the laws, and political institutions of the Romans.

Among the many other less important grammarians of the Augustan age, we may notice *Clodius Tuscus*, who composed an astronomical calendar, of which we still possess a Greek translation, made by Laurentius Lydus; but otherwise nothing certain is known about him. The calendar bears some resemblance to Ovid's *Fasti*, and may have been drawn up as a sort of outline from Ovid.

112. It now remains to cast a glance at the scientific and other professional writers during the Augustan age, though they naturally attach more importance to the subject they treat of than to the style and beauty of their compositions. This class of writers comprises lawyers, philosophers, physi-

* The best editions of both works are those in Muncker's *Mythographi Latini*: Amsterdam, 1681; and in a collection with the same title published at Leyden in 1742.

cians, architects, and rhetoricians. The only architect whose work has come down to us is

Vitruvius Pollio, who lived in the time of Augustus, and dedicated to him his work, *De Architectura*. He was probably a native of Verona. He had been employed by Julius Cæsar, and had made military engines for Augustus, whose sister, Octavia, seems to have procured a pension for him, which enabled him to live free from cares and anxieties. He must have written his work on architecture about B.C. 14, when he was already advanced in years. It consists of ten books, each of which has a separate preface, in which he addresses the emperor with great flattery. The drawings and plans which were added to the work are now lost. It is mainly based on Greek authorities, though Vitruvius introduces many original observations of his own. The work is often difficult to understand, partly because his measurements do not always agree with those we find in the remains of ancient buildings, and partly because his style of writing is often loose and obscure. It is the only work on architecture that has come down to us.*

113. Among the jurists we must mention—

1. *C. Ælius Gallus*, who wrote a work, *De significatione verborum, quæ ad jus civile pertinent*, apparently in two books; it must have been published before Verrius Flaccus composed his dictionary.

2. *M. Antistius Labeo*, one of the most eminent jurists of his time. Augustus offered him the consulship, but he declined it, preferring to spend six months every year in the city, in study and giving legal advice, and the remaining six months in retirement, devoting himself to the composition of legal works, which he left in 400 books (*volumina*). But he did not confine himself to the study of the law; grammatical, etymological, and other literary subjects, also engaged his attention. He was a man who remembered the republican freedom in which he was born; and, far from the servile adulation paid to the emperor by others, he sometimes even

* The best editions of Vitruvius are those of J. G. Schneider: Leipzig, 1807, 3 vols.; and A. Marini: Rome, 1836, in 4 vols., foll. A good edition of the text, in 1 vol., is that of Rose & Müller-Strübing: Leipzig, 1867.

attacked him. His books, some of which were published after his death, enjoyed a great reputation among the later jurists.

3. *C. Ælius Capito* was born about B.C. 34; became consul in A.D. 5; and eight years later he was appointed *curator aquarum*, which office he held until his death, A.D. 22. He and Labeo were the most eminent jurists of the time; but while Labeo kept himself aloof from, and even defied court influence, Capito was notorious for his servility. He was great in civil and pontifical jurisprudence, and wrote a work called *Collectanea*, in ten books, each treating of a distinct subject, as *De judiciis publicis*, *De officio senatorio*, *De jure pontificio*, etc. His writings, not one of which has reached our time, are less frequently referred to by later jurists than those of Labeo.

114. It has already been remarked that the study of philosophy, especially the Epicurean, was looked upon, during the Augustan age, as a kind of fashionable accomplishment of the higher classes, whose occupation with philosophy was an amusement rather than a serious or deep study. The only persons of note in this department were *Q. Sextius Niger* and his son, both of whom, however, wrote in Greek, and were followers of the Stoa and Pythagoras. Both were men of great independence of spirit. They appear to have promulgated their views in the form of *Sententiæ* or *γνώμαι*, some of which are still extant.

115. During the later period of the reign of Augustus, little scope was left for public oratory. The most important of the orators were—

1. *T. Labienus*, who was not only a great orator in the style of the older Romans, but an historian who wrote with such freedom and independence that the senate thought it necessary to suppress his works by ordering them to be publicly burnt. His violent opposition to Augustus and his friends caused him to be nicknamed *Rubiennus*. The vexation at his books being burnt led him to put an end to his own life about A.D. 11. Caligula afterwards allowed the books to be read, but they are now lost, and we possess only some parts of speeches against Asinius Pollio and the pantomimic actor Bathyllus.*

2. *Cassius Severus* who was an orator of great eminence,

* See Meyer, *Fragm. Orat. Rom.*, p. 528, foll.

and did not scruple to attack men and women of the highest rank, in consequence of which he was exiled, and passed his old age on the barren rocks of the island of Seriphos, where he died in A.D. 32. He was notorious for the savage and unbridled manner in which he indulged in assailing his enemies. A few fragments of his violent declamations are still extant.

The number of rhetoricians and declaimers was very great, but none of them, if we except *Papirius Fabianus* and *Alfius Flavius*, can claim a place in the history of literature. The only rhetoricians of whom works have come to us are:—

1. *M. Annæus Seneca*, a native of Corduba in Spain, who, in the reign of Augustus, went to Rome, and there listened to the speeches and declamations of the most famous orators. He afterwards returned to Spain where he married Helvia, by whom he had three sons, *L. Annæus Seneca*, the philosopher, *Annæus Mela*, the father of the poet *Lucan*, and *Annæus Noratus*. He seems to have died about the end of the reign of *Tiberius*. He belonged to an equestrian and wealthy family, and was a man of the stern old Roman type, of sober judgment, and an admirer of *Cicero*. He did not shine among the declaimers of his time; but in his later years he published a book entitled *Controversiæ*, in ten books, a collection of declamations made for the instruction of his sons. Of this work we still possess books 1, 2, 7, 8, and 10, and even these not without gaps. Another collection called *Suasoriæ*, and consisting of seven speeches, is likewise extant, though it too seems to be incomplete. It was evidently composed after the *Controversiæ*. These works, which are written as much as possible in the style of *Cicero*, are to us a mine of information on the history of rhetoric in the time of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*. The lacunæ of the *Controversiæ* are partially made up by an epitome or excerpts made from them in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era, which are still extant. Besides these rhetorical works, *Seneca* wrote a history of Rome from the beginning of the civil war down to nearly the end of his own life, but this work is now entirely lost.*

* The best critical edition of *Seneca's* rhetorical works is that of *Bursian*: Leipzig, 1857; they are often printed together with the philosophical works of his son.

2. *P. Rutilius Lupus*, who lived probably during the later years of *Seneca*; he wrote a work entitled *Schemata Lexeos*, in two books, which was only an abridgement of a larger work of the Greek *Gorgias*, consisting of four books. *Lupus'* work is still extant, and is valuable because it shows us the uselessness of the minute multiplication of the figures of speech which the later rhetoricians devised. It may be noticed that the *Gorgias*, whose work *Lupus* abridged, was a teacher of rhetoric at Athens, when *M. Cicero* was studying there. It seems that even this abridgement has not come down complete, as *Quintilian* quotes passages from it which do not occur in it.*

* The best editions of *Rutilius Lupus* are those of *D. Ruhnken*: Leipzig, 1831; and *F. Jacob*: Lübeck, 1837.

FIFTH PERIOD. A.D. 14

THE IMPERIAL PERIOD (FROM THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS TO THE END OF THE EMPIRE).

116. After the death of Augustus the Roman monarchy became a real despotism, which gradually crushed, in literature as well as in political life, all free and independent action. During the first half of the reign of Augustus, the spirit of freedom still survived to some extent; but during the latter half it died away, and under his successor Tiberius, the system of despotism was fully developed, and continued its baneful influence until the time of the Antonines, under whom better days seemed to be dawning; but despotism had done its work so thoroughly that all creative power seemed to have died out, and that even the best literary productions were but poor imitations of the works of the classical age. Commodus revived the old despotism, and Italian literature sank deeper and deeper. Had it not been for the somewhat more vigorous life in the provinces, the empire would have fallen to pieces, even at that early date. During the last period of the empire, the only branches of literature that can be said to have flourished were jurisprudence and scholastic erudition.

The whole of the imperial period may be divided into three epochs, each of which marks a step downwards in the history of Latin literature:—

1. The time of the Julian and Flavian emperors, embracing nearly the first century of the Christian era.
2. The age of the Antonines, which nearly coincides with the second century after Christ; and
3. From the beginning of the third century to the fall of the empire in A.D. 476; but it must be observed that a Latin literature of a certain kind long survived the overthrow of the empire.

A. LATIN LITERATURE DURING THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CENTURY.

117. The successors of Augustus did not hesitate to throw aside the mask under which he had contrived to hide his despotic power, and boldly tried to crush all feeling of freedom and independence. Servility and adulation of the emperor were the only means of securing life and property; and there was very little choice between death or submission, which the nobler spirits, of course, made most reluctantly. Vespasian and Titus seemed to promise better days; but it was too late, and the mad despotism of Domitian threw everything back again, and the reign of Nerva and Trajan only sufficed to make men see the depth of their misery. No man could venture with impunity to express his real thoughts and sentiments on state affairs, whence literature throughout this period has something unreal and untrue about it. What was simple and natural was regarded as mean; everything had to be artificial and embellished by rhetorical and poetical tinsel. Mannerism took the place of truth, and affectation the place of natural strength and vigour. There were indeed men who, like Quintilian, were conscious of the vicious tendency of literature; but they were unable to check its downward course, and were themselves unable entirely to escape its influence. The great mass of the Roman people had, on the whole, ceased to take an interest in literature, and many of the rulers fostered the estrangement between the educated classes and the multitude.

Nearly all writers look upon the monarchy as the lawfully established form of government, and only venture to speak against its abuses; the days of the republic are scarcely mentioned without fear and terror, and men are generally silent on such dangerous topics. It is creditable to the character of the Romans that the number of those who, in these circumstances, stooped to flattery and servility, is comparatively small. A certain amount of literary culture was widely diffused through the numerous schools and teachers; but, on the whole, it was very superficial. Correctness in versification, as established in the time of Augustus, continued to be considered indispensable; but the forms of the language were

undergoing a process of deterioration. Poetical forms were often employed in prose compositions; new forms of words were arbitrarily coined, and the classical construction of sentences was neglected and altered in various ways. This age has not inappropriately been called the silver age of Latin literature, as opposed to the golden age, which began with Cicero and ended about the middle of the reign of Augustus.

118. In the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37), rhetorical declamation on given or imaginary subjects took the place more and more of genuine oratory, though we still hear of a few men who distinguished themselves as orators in the senate and in the courts of law. Historians could treat with safety only of subjects which had no connection with the actual state of things, unless they condescended to vulgar flattery. Grammarians and jurists alone could pursue their studies without fear, while poetry seems to have been all but extinct.

Some members of the imperial family, following the example of Augustus, tried their hands at literary composition, e.g.,

Tiberius, who had received an excellent education, is reported by Suetonius to have delivered several speeches, and to have published a brief account (*commentarii*) of his own life. He is further reported to have written poetry both in Latin and in Greek. His nephew and adopted son, *Germanicus*, who was likewise highly educated, also composed poetry in both languages; but the only production of his that has come down to us is a free translation of the *φαινόμενα* of Aratus in hexameter verse, which shows that he was not without poetical talent, and that he was well acquainted with the subject.* Of the literary tastes of the emperors Claudius and Nero, we shall have to speak hereafter. Suetonius, Quintilian, and Tacitus mention several orators who distinguished themselves by their forensic speeches; but we possess no specimens of their oratory.

119. Among the historians who flourished in the reign of Tiberius, we have to notice:—

1. *A. Cremutius Cordus*. He had written, under the

* There is a good edition of it and its ancient commentators by A. Breysig: Berlin, 1867.

title of *Annales*, a work on Roman history, and during the reign of Augustus he had not been molested about it; but under Tiberius, in A.D. 25, he was accused by two clients of Seianus of the offence of having called Cassius the last of the Romans. Foreseeing that his doom was certain, he anticipated the verdict by voluntary starvation. The senate ordered his work to be publicly burnt; but a copy was secretly saved by his daughter Marcia, and afterwards published again, the objectionable parts having been expunged. The work is now lost.

2. *Aufidius Bassus*, born about B.C. 14, was the author of an historical work, the whole or at least a portion of which was already before the public at the time when the elder Seneca published his *Suasoriae*, about A.D. 37. The work seems to have commenced with the beginning of the civil wars. Whether the account of the war with the Germans (*Libri belli Germanici*) was a separate work, or only a portion of the history, we have no means of determining. The work seems to have brought down the history to the year A.D. 47; the elder Pliny continued it down to his own day, which proves that the work must have been popular and highly esteemed. The few fragments preserved in Seneca show a somewhat artificial and affected style.

3. *M. Velleius Paterculus*. Nothing is known about his life except what can be gathered from his own work, and from this we learn that, in A.D. 1, he was invested with the tribuneships of the soldiers, whence it follows that he must have been born about B.C. 20. In the capacity of tribune, he served in Thrace, Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia; and three years later he accompanied Tiberius as praefectus equitum into Germany, and for eight years he was almost constantly about Tiberius on his expeditions into Germany, Pannonia, and Dalmatia. On his return to Rome, A.D. 15, he obtained the praetorship, and after its expiration he seems to have retired into private life, and to have devoted himself to study and to the composition of his work called *Historiae Romanae ad M. Vinicium libri II.*, which has come down to us in a somewhat mutilated condition. The first book, of which the beginning is lost, and which besides contains several important gaps, gives a brief sketch of general history, and

carries that of Rome down to the destruction of Carthage. The second book, which is more especially devoted to Roman history, is complete, and, as he approaches his own time, the work becomes fuller and enters more into detail. The history is carried down to the year A.D. 30, and the whole has evidently been composed hastily and carelessly, though the descriptions of character are generally very interesting and life-like. When Velleius speaks of Augustus, and especially of Tiberius and his family, his praise is unmeasured, and approaches to servile adulation. This, however, ought to be less offensive if we bear in mind that he spent many years with Tiberius who certainly was distinguished as a general, and that he wrote before the time when Tiberius became the odious tyrant. Velleius, moreover, is always fond of strong expressions, which, in speaking of his friend and patron, he could hardly be expected to modify.

Velleius Paterculus is not mentioned by any ancient writer, except the grammarian Priscian and the scholiast on Lucan; and no manuscript of his work was known before 1515, when Beatus Rhenanus found one in the abbey of Murbach in Alsace.*

4. **Valerius Maximus** was a contemporary of Velleius Paterculus, whom he even surpasses in flattery towards Tiberius, though he is much inferior to him in talent. He seems to have belonged to the patrician Valeria gens; but was not possessed of any great fortune. In A.D. 14 he served under Sex. Pompeius in Asia; afterwards he appears to have lived at Rome, and during the last years of the reign of Tiberius he wrote a collection of anecdotes, still extant, and bearing the title *Factorum Dictorumque Memorabilium libri IX.*, dedicated to Tiberius. To these is generally added a treatise *De Nominibus*, which some have regarded as a tenth book, but which certainly is not the production of Valerius Maximus. The conclusion of the ninth book seems to be wanting. This collection of anecdotes, no doubt intended for the use of orators and rhetorical schools, shows that the author did not possess any accurate knowledge of history. He is, further, very superstitious, and wanting in

* A good edition of Velleius Paterculus is that of Fr. Kritz: Leipzig, 1840.

taste and critical power; but notwithstanding this, the work contains information on some matters which is not to be obtained elsewhere. Each chapter is divided into two parts, the first containing anecdotes gathered from Roman history, and the second anecdotes from the history of other countries. Tiberius and the members of his family are always spoken of with the most abject flattery, and without the excuse which may be urged in the case of Velleius Paterculus. The style and language are throughout artificial and tasteless, and nothing is simple or natural.*

120. One of the most distinguished writers on a variety of subjects is

A. **Cornelius Celsus**. He is now known to us chiefly through his work on medicine; but it is well attested that he also wrote on rhetoric, law, philosophy, and agriculture. His great work, in which he treated of all these subjects, appears to have been a kind of encyclopædia, in twenty books, in which some subjects were treated more fully than others. The title of the whole was *Artes* or *De Artibus*. The first five books treated of agriculture (*De Re Rustica*) and veterinary surgery; the eight following of medicine (*De Medicina*), and this is the only part of the work that has come down to our time, and is in fact the only work on medicine we have belonging to the better age of Latin literature. It is written in a simple and natural style worthy of the age of Cicero, and is mainly based on the works of Hippocrates and Asclepiades. The first four books treat of internal diseases; the fifth and sixth of external diseases; and the last two, which treat of surgery, are considered the most valuable part of the whole work. The remaining books must have treated of philosophy and rhetoric. Quintilian does not speak very favourably of the rhetorical part; but this may have arisen to some extent from a kind of professional jealousy. Towards the end of his life, in the reign of Nero, Celsus published a treatise on military tactics, which, like most of his other works, is now lost.†

* A good critical edition of Valerius Maximus is that of C. Kempf: Berlin, 1854.

† The best edition of the text of Celsus' work on medicine is that of C. Daremberg: Leipzig, 1859.

121. The only poet during the reign of Tiberius is Phædrus, a freedman, and a native of Macedonia, who published five books of Æsopian fables in neat iambic senarii. Among the fables there are also interspersed some anecdotes of occurrences in Phædrus' own time, or the age preceding it. He must have been brought to Rome in early youth. In the reign of Tiberius he suffered persecution through Seianus, whom he had offended by some allusion in his fables. How he was made to suffer we do not know; but certain it is that Phædrus survived the downfall of his persecutor.*

122. The most distinguished jurists under Tiberius were *Masurius Sabinus*, whose principal work consisted of three books on the civil law; *M. Cocceius Nerva* (grandfather of the emperor Nerva), *Proculus* and *G. Cassius Longinus*. Among grammarians we may mention *Julius Modestus*, a freedman and pupil of Hyginus, who wrote a commentary on Horace; *M. Pomponius Marcellus*; *Q. Remmius Palaemon* of Vicenza, who composed a Latin grammar which seems to have been much used at Rome, and is frequently quoted by later grammarians; and *Gavius Bassus*, who wrote a work *De Origine Verborum et Vocabulorum*, in at least seven books. *Antonius Castor* wrote a work on botany, which seems to have been looked upon as an authority in its day. The celebrated gourmet *Apicius* wrote a book on cookery, and there still exists a work on this subject in ten books which bears his name, but is no doubt the production of a writer of the third century of our era, though parts of it may have been taken from the work of the real Apicius which is now lost.

123. Some of the members of the Julian imperial family cannot be passed over in a history of Latin literature. Augustus and Tiberius have already been mentioned as authors, but the Emperor Claudius and Nero, and his mother, Agrippina, also have some claims to our attention.

1. *Claudius*, who was born in B.C. 10 and reigned from A.D. 41 to A.D. 54, was a very industrious and voluminous writer, both before and after his accession, especially on historical subjects. In these pursuits he was encouraged by

* Editions of Phædrus to be recommended are those of J. C. Orelli: Zürich, 1831; and F. E. Raschig: Berlin, 1861.

Livy and assisted by Sulpicius Flavius. Claudius wrote a history of his own time, beginning with the murder of Caesar, in forty-three books; a history of his own life, and a defence of Cicero against Asinius Gallus. In Greek he wrote a history of Etruria, in twenty books, and a history of Carthage, in eight books. All these works, which are now lost, may not have been of great literary value: for we know that he was a man of an extremely weak character and of no great intellect; but still, if we possessed them, they would undoubtedly throw light upon subjects of which we now know little or nothing. All we now possess of Claudius is a portion of a speech which, in A.D. 48, he delivered in the senate, recommending the admission of the Gallic nobility to the high offices of the empire. This remarkable document was discovered at Lyons in 1524, engraved on two bronze tables. The substance of it is quoted by Tacitus in his *annals*, and the document, so far as it is preserved, is generally printed as an appendix to the works of Tacitus.

Claudius also occupied himself with grammatical studies, and invented three new letters, viz., *J*, to mark *v* when used as a consonant; *Œ*, as a substitute for *bs* and *ps*; and *F*, to mark the sound intermediate between *i* and *y*. But as this increase of the alphabet was found neither very necessary nor useful, it soon fell into disuse.

2. *Agrippina*, the mother of the Emperor Nero, wrote *Commentarii*, in which she described her own life and the misfortunes of her relatives. They were probably published before the accession of her son. Her own life belongs to the period from A.D. 16 to A.D. 59.

3. *Nero*, when ascending the throne, A.D. 54, was a young man of considerable talent and promise. His mother, and his tutor Seneca, prevented his turning his attention to philosophy and oratory, in consequence of which he gave himself up with much enthusiasm to the cultivation of poetry. He recited his poetical productions not only to his friends and admirers at the court, but in the public theatre, where, of course, they were so enthusiastically admired that, by a decree of the senate, some of them were ordered to be engraved in letters of gold, and to be exhibited in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. He also composed an epic poem

on the story of Troy, a few lines of which have come down to us. Other poems were written to be recited with the accompaniment of the lyre, and some of them are said to have been very lascivious.

124. The most eminent among the writers of the Julian period was

L. Annæus Seneca, the son of the rhetorician, M. Annæus Seneca, who was born about B.C. 4, and died A.D. 65, so that the period of his literary activity belongs to the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. He must have accompanied his father from Corduba to Rome at an early period. He devoted himself from the first chiefly to the study of oratory and philosophy. Afterwards he took part in public life, and in the reign of Caligula he became a member of the senate. In the beginning of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41, when Julia Livilla, the sister of Caligula, was banished, at the instigation of Messalina, to the island of Corsica, Seneca, her paramour, had to share her fate. He remained in Corsica eight years, and, in A.D. 49, was recalled by the desire of Agrippina, and intrusted with the education of her son Nero. At the same time he was raised to the prætorship. Under Nero, Seneca for a time was the virtual ruler of the empire, and obtained the consulship in A.D. 57. But in A.D. 65 he was accused of participation in the conspiracy of Piso, in consequence of which he was condemned to death; but as the mode of the execution was left to his choice, he had his veins opened, and bled to death in his bath with a truly philosophic calmness and resignation.

Seneca is the brightest literary phenomenon of the first Christian century, and at the same time its most characteristic representative. He had the same facility in composition as Ovid, and a very lively feeling of his own merits. Although he did not often make a bad use of his powers, still it cannot be denied that he did not always resist the temptations which were put in his way. He was sometimes guilty of inordinate ambition and vanity, of flattery and servility, faults which form a strong contrast to the teachings contained in his writings. Some excuse, however, must be made, if we remember the times and circumstances in which he lived; and the calm composure with which he met his death

shows at all events he could act up to his philosophical principles.

As an author, Seneca valued brilliancy higher than thoroughness. He wrote on a great variety of subjects, both in prose and in verse, and always with a marked tendency to contemplation and to reflection on nature and the life of man, an inclination to which, in his later years, he yielded entirely. The basis of his philosophy is the system of the Stoics, but greatly modified by additions from other systems, by softening down its harshness, by avoiding its quibblings, and by relaxing the sternness of its ethical principles. His philosophy is therefore more of a popular character, and calculated to charm the reader by the extent and nicety of his observations, by the wide range of his knowledge, by the easy and sparkling style, and by the noble spirit which pervades his writings; but it is nevertheless somewhat wearisome to observe a certain rhetorical sameness, and the obvious striving to please his readers which appears in all his productions.

The first place among his prose works is generally assigned to his treatise—

1. *De Ira*, on self-control, in three books, dedicated to his brother, Novatus, which was evidently composed after the death of Caligula.

2. An epistle, *De Consolatione ad Helviam matrem*, which was written in Corsica during his exile, to comfort his mother about his banishment; with an intimation to exert herself to effect his recall.

3. *De Consolatione ad Polybium* was likewise written in Corsica, to Polybius, an influential freedman of the Emperor Claudius, to console him for the loss of a brother.

4. *De Consolatione ad Marciam*, an epistle addressed to Marcia, the daughter of Cremutius Cordus, to comfort her for the loss of a son who had died three years before. This epistle was written after his return from exile.

5. *Quare bonis viris mala accidunt, cum sit providentia*, is a work addressed to his friend Lucilius, procurator of Sicily, in which Seneca answers the question in the spirit of the Stoics; and, as a last resource, recommends suicide as an escape from evils. This work seems to have been written after Seneca's exile.

6. *De Animi Tranquillitate ad Severum*, to which
 7. *De Constantia Sapientis* is a kind of sequel.
 8. *De Clementia*, addressed to Nero in the second year of his reign. Of this treatise only the first book and the beginning of the second are extant.
 9. *De Brevitate Vitæ*, addressed to Paulinus.
 10. *De Vita Beata*, addressed to Gallio, is perhaps the best of Seneca's philosophical treatises, and was written in his later years, partly with a view of defending his own life and actions. The last portion of the work is lost.
 11. *De Otio et Secessu Sapientis*, of which the beginning is wanting.
 12. *De Beneficiis*, in seven books, addressed to Æbucius Liberalis, is a production of the later years of Seneca's life.
 13. *Epistolæ ad Lucilium* is a collection of 124 letters, which are sometimes arranged in twenty and sometimes twenty-two books. This collection gives us the most complete picture of the peculiar character of Seneca, and is justly regarded as one of his best works. The letters were written during the last six or seven years of his life.
 14. *Ludus de morte Cæsaris* is a bitter and unworthy satire on the deceased Emperor Claudius; but remarkable as a specimen of the Menippean satire.
 15. *Questionum Naturalium libri VII.*, addressed to his friend Lucilius, was written during the last three years of Seneca's life, and treats of a variety of natural phenomena, such as fire, thunder, lightning, water, hail, snow, ice, winds, earthquakes, comets, etc. The author, on the whole, adopts the views of the Stoics; but also makes use of Aristotle and Theophrastus. The work is written in plain and simple language, and was very popular throughout the middle ages as the standard book on physics.
- Several other prose works of Seneca are lost, with the exception of a few fragments, as, for example, *De terræ motu*, *De superstitione*, *De officiis*, *Moralium libri*, *Echortationum libri*, *De immatura morte*, *De India*, *De ritu et sacris Egyptiorum*, *De matrimonio*, and *De remediis fortuitorum*. Owing to the great popularity of his works, several treatises were published during the middle ages under Seneca's name. A work entitled *Senecæ Proverbia* consists for the most part

only of extracts made at a late period from his known works. There also exists a collection of six letters, purporting to belong to a correspondence between Seneca and the Apostle Paul, which seem to have been popular as early as the fourth century; but they are evidently a forgery. Quintilian speaks of orations of Seneca, and it is well known that some of the speeches delivered by Nero were composed by Seneca, but no specimens are now extant.

In verse we possess several epigrams referring to Seneca's exile, but the authorship of some of them is very doubtful. His most important poetical productions are eight tragedies, viz., *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Phædra*, *Edipus*, *Troades* (or *Hecuba*), *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, *Hercules Cæus*, and two scenes from a *Thebais*.

It was doubted at one time whether these dramas were the works of the philosopher Seneca, and whether they ought not to be ascribed to the rhetorician, his father; but recent criticism has shown that there is nothing in the tragedies, either in regard to style or thought, that is incompatible with what we know of the philosopher. We find in them the same verboseness, the same rhetorical figures, sentences, and sayings, as in his prose works, except that in the tragedies, and in accordance with their very nature, everything is more exaggerated. Their language is often mere verbiage, in which it is difficult to discover any thought. The versification is correct, though somewhat monotonous. There is a drama entitled *Octavia*, the subject of which belongs to recent history, and which bears the name of Seneca; but it is now generally believed to be the production of a much later age.*

125. Q. Curtius Rufus, the author of a history of Alexander the Great. According to the evidence furnished by his own work, he must have lived and written in the reign of Claudius. We have no information about his life and circumstances, whence a wide field of speculation is left open as to the time when his work was composed; and while some have maintained that it was written in the reign of Augustus,

* A good edition of the prose works of Seneca is that of C. R. Fickert: Leipzig, 1842-1845, in 3 vols. A good text of the poetical works was edited by R. Peiper and G. Richter: Leipzig, 1867, in Teubner's collection.

others have believed the author to have been a contemporary of Vespasian, or even of Septimus Severus; but a careful consideration of several passages of the work leaves no doubt that it was written soon after the murder of Caligula. The author himself informs us that in writing his work he made use of the histories of Alexander by Clitarchus, Timagenes, and Ptolemæus; but he does not pretend critically to have sifted his authorities. On the contrary, he frankly states that he simply transcribed what he found recorded, even where he could not believe the statements he read. His work, bearing the title of *Historia Alexandri Magni*, originally consisted of ten books, but the first two are lost. Its style and language have still the classical character, and are formed on the model of Livy; but the work is nevertheless thoroughly rhetorical, and more like a romance than a history. It is full of speeches and descriptions, and the descriptions he gives of battles show that the author was but little acquainted with military affairs.*

126. **L. Junius Moderatus Columella**, a contemporary and countryman of the philosopher Seneca, was born at Gades, in Spain. Beyond this fact, which is mentioned by himself, we know nothing of his life, except that for a time he served in the army in Syria, and that he possessed several estates in Italy. His work on agriculture (*De Re Rustica*), in twelve books, must have been written before the death of Seneca, probably in A.D. 62, and is dedicated to P. Silvinus. He seems first to have written a smaller work on the same subject, of which the part *De arboribus* is still extant, and helps to explain the fifth book of *De Re Rustica*, which has come down to us in a very mutilated form. Columella entertained the highest idea of the importance of agriculture, and laments the neglect of it in his time. He himself bestowed the greatest attention upon it, and tried to treat of it in a manner worthy of its importance. The tenth book, on horticulture, is written in excellent hexameters, in imitation of the *Georgica* of Vergil, whom he venerated and admired, but whom he was unable to equal as a poet. Otherwise his work is

* The best modern editions of Curtius are those of J. Müttzell: Berlin, 1842, in 2 vols., with a critical and exegetical commentary; and of C. G. Zumpt: Brunswick, 1849.

written in simple, pure, and flowing language, and treats of everything connected with agriculture, the cultivation of the vine, arboriculture, domestic animals, etc. It contains much valuable information, derived from sources that are now lost.*

127. **Q. Asconius Pedianus**, a very distinguished commentator of Cicero, who flourished during the reigns of Claudius and Nero. He seems to have been born about A.D. 1, and to have been a native of Patavium. In his seventy-third year he lost his eyesight; but lived twelve years longer, honoured and esteemed by all. Suetonius calls him *scriptor historicus*, because his writings were all more or less of an historical character, for he wrote a life of Sallust, and apparently also one of Persius; he further published a treatise against the detractors of Vergil. These writings are unfortunately lost, but we still possess a portion of his valuable historical commentaries on Cicero's orations. The author no doubt wrote commentaries on all the speeches, but we now possess only those on the orations against Piso, for Scaurus, for Milo, for C. Cornelius, and the speech in *toga candida*; even these, however, have come down to us in a very mutilated condition. They are written in good classical Latin, and are of great historical value. They are printed in the fifth volume of Orelli's edition of Cicero's works.

There exists, under the name of Asconius Pedianus, a commentary on Cicero's speeches against Verres; but the language is unclassical, the historical explanations are of a trivial kind, and the other explanations are mostly grammatical. In short this commentary contains little or nothing that could remind us of Asconius Pedianus, and seems to be the production of some grammarian of the fourth century of our era.

128. **Pomponius Mela**, a contemporary of Asconius Pedianus and a native of Tingentera in Spain, wrote, either under Caligula or under Claudius, a description of the ancient world in three books. This is the first work of the kind we meet with in Latin literature; it bears the title *De Situ orbis*, and forms a concise manual of geography, which is preserved entire. The author follows the course of the coast-line, be-

* It is printed in the collections of the *Scriptores Rei Rustice*, by J. M. Gesner and F. G. Schneider.

ginning with Africa, proceeding to Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Asia Minor, etc., till he comes back to the point from which he has started. Mela compiled his work from the best authorities accessible to him; but exercised his own judgment, and omitted what appeared to him fabulous or mythical. He further does not confine himself to mere geographical details, but enlivens his statements by descriptions of the manners and customs of the various countries. His style is somewhat rhetorical, reminding us of that of Seneca. It is surprising that the Romans, with all their foreign conquests, had till then not produced any work on geography, and, even if we take later works into account, Mela is their best and ablest geographer.*

129. Among the *orators* of this period, some of whom acted the base part of informers, there is none of whom literary remains are now extant, and very few composed any work deserving special mention here. Among the *jurists* who also wrote on legal subjects we may mention *Cocceius Nerva*, the father of the Emperor Nerva, who wrote *De Usucapionibus*, and *Sex. Pedius*, who wrote a work in several books, *De Stipulationibus*, and a larger work in at least twenty-five books, entitled *Ad Edictum*.

The *philosophers* of this period, so far as, like Seneca, they wrote in Latin, generally adopted the system of the Stoics, for the best men of the time were convinced that the Stoic philosophy alone could teach men how to live honourably and to die courageously. Among men of this class we may mention *Thræsea Pætus*, *Helvidius Priscus*, and the poets *Persius* and *Lucan*. These and many others, disdaining to flatter or humble themselves before their despotic rulers, often had to pay with their lives for their love of freedom. Things went so far that a man professing to be a Stoic was for this very reason suspected of harbouring republican ideas, and brought upon himself banishment or death; but Stoicism among the Romans, at this as well as at other times, was rarely maintained in its purity: for while one class of men, like Seneca, softened down its sternness and harshness, and

* The best editions of Pomponius Mela are those of T. H. Tzschucke: Leipzig, 1806, in 6 vols., with a large critical and exegetical commentary; and of G. Parthey: Berlin, 1867.

thereby reduced it to a kind of practical wisdom, others mixed up with it additions of Pythagorean asceticism and cynical practices. Most of the philosophers confined themselves to lecturing and teaching; but *Thræsea Pætus* wrote a life of the younger Cato, of whom he was an enthusiastic admirer. The work itself is lost, but Plutarch's life of Cato probably contains the substance of it.

130. The most erudite among the grammarians of this time was *M. Valerius Probus*, of Berytus, whose life seems to have extended into the reign of Domitian. He lectured on the language of the earlier Roman poets, especially Vergil, for whom he did what the Alexandrian poets had done for Homer, his main object being to establish a correct text. We still possess under his name ancient scholia on Vergil's *Bucolica* and *Georgica*, the best parts of which may indeed have been taken from works of Probus, but much useless matter is mixed up with them. He also published revised texts, with commentaries, of Horace, Lucretius, and Terence. Independently of such critical editions of earlier poets, he wrote a number of grammatical treatises, most of which are now lost; but there still exist under his name—1. A work called *Catholica*, which treats of nouns and verbs, and is printed in Keil's collection of Latin grammarians; 2. A work entitled *Ars*, or *Instituta artium*, i.e., a Latin grammar, which in the course of time seems to have undergone great alterations at the hands of later editors or copyists, which are not always improvements. This also is printed in Keil's collection.

131. There is an anonymous epic poem in praise of a consul Piso; but we neither know who the poet nor who the consul Piso was, though the style of the poem clearly points to the time of Claudius or Nero. The author of the poem describes himself as a youth who was prompted to sing the praises of Piso, not for gain, but only for glory. The author was evidently well acquainted with the poetry of the Augustan age, and possessed considerable skill and facility in composing his somewhat rhetorical poem.*

132. *A. Persius Flaccus* was born at Volaterræ, in Etruria, on the 4th of December, A.D. 34, and belonged to a wealthy equestrian family. He lost his father at the age of

* It is printed in Wernsdorf's *Poetæ Latini minores*, Vol. IV.

six; and six years later his mother, with him and his sister, removed to Rome, where Persius received instruction in grammar from Remmius Palaemon, and in rhetoric from Virginius Flavius; but the Stoic Cornutus made the deepest impression upon the youth, and from the age of sixteen to the end of his life Persius was attached to him as to a father. His poetical and philosophical pursuits, as well as his family connections, brought him into contact with Lucan, Claudius Agathemerus, Thræsea Pætus, Servius Nonianus, and other eminent men; but before he had completed his twenty-eighth year he died of some disease of the stomach, on the 24th of November, A.D. 62. He left a considerable fortune and a large library, which he bequeathed to Cornutus, who undertook to look after Persius' literary remains. Persius is described as very handsome, of most gentle manners, of almost maidenly modesty, and of great affection towards his mother and sister. His literary remains consisted of a *prætexta*, entitled *Vescio* or *Rescio*, written in his boyhood; a book of travel, some verses on the elder Arria; and six satires, which last are the only productions of Persius that have come down to us, as, at the request of Cornutus, his mother destroyed all the rest. This collection of six satires appears to have been left unfinished, that is, if Persius had lived longer he would have added others; the sixth, also, had no proper conclusion, whence Cornutus, by deleting a few lines, produced a kind of suitable termination to it. Cornutus himself did not publish the satires, but left the editing of them to Cæsius Bassus. On their appearance they are said to have filled the public with great admiration. The only one of the six poems that can be called a real satire is the first, which is directed against the bad taste of the poets and the public of his time; the remaining five are poetical declamations on points of the Stoic philosophy, which he tries to recommend to his readers as leading to a happy life. They bear all the characteristics of a young man who knows little of life; they abound in dramatic scenes, which are often almost burlesque. The characters, images, and expressions are to a large extent borrowed from Horace, but often spoiled by Persius' own additions. His language is unnatural, forced, and obscure. Persius was evidently not a poet born; but tried to make

himself one by hard and slow toil. His character as a man deserves great admiration and esteem on account of his earnestness, his gentleness, and his moral purity, in the midst of so much corruption and vice. The commentary on the satires of Persius, which has come down to us under the name of Cornutus, is the production of a very late grammarian.*

133. **M. Annæus Lucanus**, a nephew of the philosopher Seneca (whose brother, Annæus Mela, was the father of Lucan), was born in A.D. 39, at Corduba, in Spain. At an early age he was brought to Rome, where he was instructed by Cornutus, and became the friend of Persius. His uncle, Seneca, recommended him to the Emperor Nero, who raised him to the offices of quaestor and augur; but as Lucan was attracting much public attention by his poetical productions, which, according to the custom of the time, he recited in public, Nero, influenced by jealousy, forbade him to continue such recitals. Afterwards Lucan, because it was alleged that he had taken part in the conspiracy of Piso, was condemned to death. Lucan then ordered his veins to be opened by a surgeon, and died, A.D. 65, at the early age of twenty-seven. He was married to Polla Argentaria, a lady of a highly cultivated mind.

Next to Vergil, Lucan is the most eminent epic poet in Latin literature. His productive power must have been immense, if we consider the number of works which he composed during his short life. Of most of them we know little more than their titles, as, *e.g.*, *Hectoris Lytra*; *Orpheus*, in three books; *Iliacæ* and *Cataclithonion libri*, *Catalogus Herodidum*, *Saturnalia*, *Silvæ*, *Medea*, and others. Most of these poems treated of subjects connected with Greek mythology, and some of them were perhaps youthful and unripe productions, or even mere improvisations; but all of them are lost, and we possess of his works only one epigram and a great epic poem entitled *Pharsalia*, in ten books, which, however, was left in an incomplete state by the poet, for the tenth book is evidently not finished. Its subject is the civil war

* The best critical edition of the satires of Persius is that of O. Jahn: Leipzig, 1843; which also contains the ancient commentary. A good school edition is that of A. Pretor: London, 1869.

between Cæsar and Pompey, and the poet describes in chronological order, and with historical fidelity, the events of the struggle from its outbreak down to the siege of Alexandria. As many of the works referring to that war are lost, Lucan's poem is of great historical importance to us. The poetical and oratorical powers of the author appear most strikingly in his descriptions of exciting or pathetic scenes, and in the delineations of the principal characters. Poetical invention was scarcely required in such a poem; but, as a true disciple of the Stoa, the poet throughout shows a mind far above everything low or vulgar, and he seems to have chosen the subject of the civil war just because it offered him opportunities of expressing his feelings of grief and sorrow at the loss of freedom among his countrymen. The strong mind and the genuine Roman sentiments of the young poet cannot fail to win our esteem and admiration. His style is vigorous and full of force, though not without a strong rhetorical colouring; but it lacks the polish of Vergil: the same may be said of his versification. Quintilian justly remarks that the *Pharsalia* is a history rather than a poem. It seems, however, to have been very popular, and to have induced some of the later grammarians to write commentaries upon it, some of which we still possess.*

134. Cæsius Bassus, a friend of Persius and editor of his satires, is said to have perished in the eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79. He is mentioned by Quintilian as the only lyric poet worthy of the name after Horace. The same is intimated in Persius' sixth satire, which is addressed to him. He is probably the same Cæsius Bassus who wrote a didactic poem on metres. In the third century this work was made the basis of a prose manual on metres, with many alterations; but the part treating of the metres of Horace is perhaps a faithful transcript of a portion of Bassius' work.

We hear of a few other men who wrote poetry during the reign of Nero, such as Vagellius, Curtius Nomentanus, and Serronius; but nothing is known of them except their names.

135. Petronius Arbiter.—Under this name we have a kind of comic romance, entitled *Satiræ* or *Satiricon* (*libri*), which

* The best modern edition of Lucan is that of C. F. Weber: Leipzig, 1821, in 3 vols., which also contains the ancient scholia.

seems originally to have formed a voluminous work of about twenty books, describing all sorts of adventures; but we now possess only a number of fragments, the longest of which contains a description of the supper of Trimalchio (*Cena Trimalchionis*), a wealthy but uneducated upstart, who affects to be a gentleman. It is written in prose, but largely interspersed with poetry, in the manner of the ancient Menippean satire. It is full of coarse and obscene passages, but very instructive in regard to the manners, morals, and the language of the time. The author is a man of great ability, full of wit and humour, and displays a very minute and accurate knowledge of human life and human characters. The metrical parts are mostly parodies of the poets of the time. The principal speaker is a freedman, Encolpius, who describes the adventures he has met with during a journey in company with another freedman, Ascyltus, and a boy. The scene is laid in Southern Italy, and the time is the reign of Tiberius; but there are also allusions to persons who lived under Caligula and Nero. The author has great skill in the delineation of characters, which he allows to develop themselves in their own words and speeches. Thus Encolpius uses the language of a gentleman of the Augustan age, while most of the other speakers, especially Trimalchio, speak the language of vulgar uneducated people, full of all manner of irregularities. The poetical pieces are generally put into the mouth of the vain and absurd Eumolpus, as is the case in Chapter XCIV., where he describes the taking of Troy (*Troice halosis*), and in Chapters CXIV.-CXXIV., where he parodies the poetry on the civil war (*bellum civile*).

Who the author was, and at what time he lived, has been the subject of much speculation and conjecture; some critics have regarded him as a contemporary of Augustus, while others have been inclined to place him as late as the third Christian century, in the reign of Alexander Severus. It is, now, however, pretty generally admitted that the author must have lived in the time of Nero. In the reign of this emperor, Tacitus speaks of a notorious courtier, C. Petronius, who was the most intimate friend of Nero, and the great panderer to his pleasures and fancies, and all that the historian relates of him seems to point him out as the most

likely man to write such a work; but it must be owned that Tacitus does not intimate that C. Petronius composed any work at all. The cause or origin of the surname *Arbiter* is likewise unknown.*

136. There are a few other poets of less importance belonging, in all probability, to the period of the Julian emperors.

1. *T. Calpurnius Siculus* is known to us only as the author of seven eclogues, in which, with great exaggeration, he imitates Theocritus and Vergil. He shows but little taste, and indulges in abject flattery to Nero.

2. *Aurelius Nemesianus*, a native of Carthage; by him we have four eclogues, which are much inferior to those of Calpurnius, though they have sometimes been treated as productions of the same author.†

3. To the same period belongs the anonymous didactic poem *Ætna*, consisting of 645 well constructed hexameter lines. It is written in a dry didactic style, but the author vigorously combats the current superstitious notions about the nature of the volcano. The language, which at times rises to the height of real poetry, is a pretty successful imitation of Vergil. It is now generally believed that the *Ætna* is the work of Lucilius, the youthful friend of Seneca, who speaks of *Ætna* as a poem of Lucilius. The poem, which has several gaps, used to be printed together with the works of Vergil.‡

4. A *Latin abridgment of Homer's Iliad*, for the use of schools. It consists of 1075 hexameter lines, and the first part is almost a translation, but further on it becomes a meagre abridgment. Vergil and Ovid are also laid under considerable contribution; the versification is careful and correct. That the author lived under Claudius or Nero is rendered probable by several expressions and allusions occurring in the poem; but who he was is quite unknown.||

* The first really critical edition of Petronius is that of Fr. Büchler: Berlin, 1862.

† The best edition of these writers of eclogues is that of E. C. Glaser: Göttingen, 1842.

‡ The best separate edition is that of H. A. J. Munro: Cambridge, 1867.

|| This abridgment is printed in the fourth volume of Wernsdorff's *Poete Lat. Minores*.

137. By the death of Nero (A.D. 68) the Julian dynasty became extinct, and the few troubled years under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are of no importance in the history of literature. The reign of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79), and of his son Titus (A.D. 79, 80), promised, in some respects, better times; but Domitian (A.D. 81-96) threw everything back again, and the end of the first century became much worse than its beginning had been.

Vespasian, himself not unskilled as an orator, both in Latin and Greek, promoted certain branches of literature by giving fixed annual salaries to Latin and Greek teachers of rhetoric, and by liberally rewarding poetical efforts; but he expelled the philosophers from Rome, because he believed them to be republicans, and dangerous to the internal peace of the empire. The following are the most distinguished writers during the reign of Vespasian and Titus:—

138. *C. Plinius Secundus*, commonly called the elder Pliny. There is no trustworthy account of his life, and we are dependent for our information upon the letters of his nephew, the younger Pliny, and upon any chance remarks that occur in his own work. As at the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79, when he perished, he was fifty-six years old, he must have been born in A.D. 23. He was a native of Northern Italy, being born either at Verona or at Como, where his family owned considerable estates. About his education we know nothing; but he seems to have been at Rome before he had reached his twentieth year, and at the age of twenty-two he commanded a detachment of Roman cavalry in Germany. In A.D. 52, after quitting the army, he spent his time partly at Rome and partly at Como, apparently devoting himself to reading and study. In A.D. 57 we find him in the position of procurator of Spain. That he also visited Africa is clear from his own work; but it is uncertain when this took place. He must have been personally acquainted with the Emperor Vespasian, as he is said to have paid him visits early in the morning, before the emperor attended to his own business. Shortly before his death he is mentioned as commander of the fleet stationed at Misenum; and it was during his stay there that the eruption of Vesuvius took place, during which he

fell a victim to his curiosity in watching the terrible catastrophe.

Pliny is called by the ancients the most learned man of his age, and his extraordinary activity is well described by his nephew, from whom we also receive information about many works which he wrote, but which are now lost. Among them we may mention:—

1. *De Jaculatione Equestri*, in one book, which he wrote while commanding a body of cavalry in Germany.

2. *De Vita Pomponii Secundi*, in two books.

3. A work on the wars between the Romans and Germans, in twenty books, which he commenced while serving in Germany.

4. A history of Rome, in thirty-one books, commencing at the point where the history of Aufidius Bassus ended.

5. *Studiosi*, in three books, on the training of an orator.

6. *Dubii Sermonis*, in eight books, was a grammatical work written during the last year of the reign of Nero; it was extensively used by later grammarians, though it also met with much opposition.

To these must be added 160 *commentarii electorum*, a collection of extracts from various works, which were found after his death.

The only work of Pliny that has come down to us is his *Naturalis Historia*, in thirty-seven books, the first of which, however, only gives the contents of the whole work and the authorities, together with a dedication to Titus, which must have been written in A.D. 77. This work is a gigantic compilation made from upwards of 2000 volumes; it is, in fact, a kind of encyclopædia, in which the compiler has collected for purposes of instruction everything which he thought worth knowing. Some books treat of physics and astronomy, others of geography, natural history, medicines, and of the history of art. In many of these departments Pliny himself was only an amateur, and without any thorough knowledge of what he was writing about, whence it is not difficult to discover mistakes of every kind, whose number is further increased by the haste and carelessness with which the author seems to have made his extracts from books. Pliny's own nephew calls the work an *opus diffusum, eruditum nec minus*

varium quam ipsa natura; but notwithstanding all this the natural history of Pliny is to us a real mine of information not elsewhere obtainable, as most of the works from which he made his extracts are now lost. Pliny's style is neither easy nor attractive, but often concise and forcible. He does not attach himself to any special school of philosophy; his views are of a pantheistic nature: for God is to him identical with Nature, to whose action all phenomena are traceable.*

139. M. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, known in history as the man who was most active in securing the imperial throne to Vespasian. During that emperor's reign, he seems to have withdrawn from public life, and to have devoted himself to collecting historical memoirs and letters, the former in at least eleven books, and the latter in three. The former seems to have somewhat resembled the miscellaneous work of Pliny, who often refers to it and derived from it some of his most incredible and absurd statements. There are a few other men who, at this time, wrote about contemporary events, but whose productions, like those of Mucianus, are entirely lost, as M. Cluvius Rufus, Vipstanus Messala, and Fabius Rusticus. Rhetorical and legal studies flourished under Vespasian and Titus; but no works of any importance were produced.

140. The only poet of the time of Vespasian whose work has come down to us is C. Valerius Flaccus, the author of an epic poem, called *Argonautica*. Nothing is known about him, except that he must have died about A.D. 89. Whether he is the same as the one whom Martial advises to abandon poetry and devote himself to the more lucrative profession of the law, is more than doubtful. The *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, consisting of eight books, and written about A.D. 70, has come down to us apparently in an unfinished form. It is a free imitation of the Greek work of the same title by Apollonius of Rhodes; but Flaccus has avoided the pedantic display of learning; his affecting scenes are more elaborate, and the characters of the heroes are drawn with greater care. In his language he imitates

* The best critical edition of Pliny is that of J. Sillig: Leipzig, 1831-36, in five vols. A good edition of the text is that in Teubner's collection of the classics, by L. Jan, in 6 vols.

Vergil; but he is often declamatory, bombastic, and diffuse.*

Other poets of this time, whose works however are lost, are *Curvatus Maternus*, who wrote tragedies, such as *Medea*, *Domitius*, *Cato*, and *Thyestes*; *Saleius Bassus*, who was highly honoured by Vespasian, and seems to have written epic poetry. Domitian himself also appears to have attempted epic poetry during the reign of his father.

141. The reign of Domitian (A.D. 81-96) and its brutal despotism again crushed every aspiration in the moral and intellectual life of the Romans. Oratory flourished only in so far as it was an instrument in the hands of base informers; contemporary history could not be written from fear of offending the merciless tyrant; and those who would not risk their lives had to be silent, or to degrade themselves by abject servility and flattery. Those who adopted the latter course did so either through fear and weakness of character, or because they hoped to benefit themselves by slavish submissiveness. A certain kind of poetry was fostered by public contests and recitations; but no poet could be sure of success unless he lavished praise and flattery upon the despot, and their number was not small, but that they were not men of real merit may easily be imagined. The principal writers of that unhappy reign were:—

142. C. Silius Italicus, an epic poet, belonging to a distinguished family, must have been born about A.D. 25. He acquired reputation both as an orator and a poet, and, in A.D. 68, he was raised by Nero to the consulship, after which he was entrusted with the administration of the province of Asia. After his return he withdrew from public life, and enjoyed his wealth in ease and luxury, devoting himself to poetical pursuits. He had unbounded veneration for Cicero and Vergil, and was proud of possessing villas which had once belonged to them. At last, in A.D. 101, being either satiated or disgusted with life, he put an end to his existence by starvation.

Of his poetical productions we still have an epos, entitled

* There is a good edition of Val. Flaccus, by N. E. Lemaire, with a commentary: Paris, 1824, 2 vols. A good text is that of G. Thilo: Halle, 1863.

Punica, in eighteen books, which gives a poetical account of the second Punic war, mainly based on the history of Livy. In accordance with the prevailing taste of the age it is written in a rhetorical and declamatory style; but in the main the author adopted the language and versification of Vergil, whom he venerated almost like a god. Though the subject is historical, the poem abounds in mythological allusions, and in learning of every kind. Martial who, of course, is lavish in his praise of the wealthy Silius Italicus, states that the *Punica*, on its first appearance, was received with great applause. Whether this is true or not, we cannot say, but certain it is that the poem soon fell into oblivion; in fact, every trace of it was lost until A.D. 1417, when a MS. of it was discovered by Poggio, in Switzerland.*

143. P. Papinius Statius was the son of a distinguished Neapolitan grammarian of the same name, by whom he was most carefully educated. Even before the death of his father, in A.D. 80, he had acquired considerable reputation by the beauty of his extemporaneous productions, and by the recitation at Rome of a portion of his epic poem *Thebais*. Afterwards he withdrew to Naples, either because he had been defeated in a poetical contest at Rome, or for some other reason unknown to us. He must have been born about A.D. 47, and does not appear to have survived the Emperor Domitian. There is no reason for believing that the Statius mentioned by Juvenal as a poet living in poverty, is the same as Papinius Statius, who throughout appears to have lived in easy circumstances. Whenever he alludes to Domitian, or any one connected with the court, he speaks of them with the most fulsome adulation. He wrote many poems to order for persons of rank and influence. He appears to have been a man of a weak and timid character, and certainly did not write as he felt, for while he freely censured the dead Caligula and Nero, he flatters Domitian in a disgusting manner. In language, and in the construction of his verses, he scrupulously follows Vergil. His works are:—

1. *Thebais*, an epic poem in twelve books, on which the

* The principal editions are those of Drakenborch: Utrecht, 1717; and Ruperti: Göttingen, 1795, in 2 vols.

author was engaged during twelve years. It describes the feuds between the brothers Eteocles and Polynices. The first ten books are most diffuse, full of long speeches, and descriptions of preparations for the contest, while the last two, as if the poet had become tired of his work, describe the final contest in a very summary manner. The poem has few merits, for its language is sometimes bombastic and sometimes obscure by its artificial brevity; the delineations of the characters, their motives of action, and the arrangements of the detail also leave much to be desired.

2. *Achilleis*, in two books, is an unfinished epic. The poet's intention was to give the complete story of Achilles from his birth to his death; but he did not finish it, and the fragment closes with the scene where Achilles is found out by Ulysses, and obliged to join the expedition against Troy. The style of the poem is less bombastic and forced than that of the *Thebais*, but equally diffuse.

3. *Silve*, in five books, is a collection of thirty-two poems written on various occasions, and some of them to order. The several books appear to have been published successively, and in chronological order, with an address in prose to the person to whom the book was dedicated. The first book cannot have been written before A.D. 90, whence the last may be assigned to A.D. 95. Most of these poems are written in hexameter verse, and are valuable as pictures of Roman life at the time, showing the poet to have been a man of honourable but weak character.*

144. *M. Valerius Martialis* was born at Bilbilis, in Spain, about A.D. 43. At the age of 22 he went to Rome, where he lived for many years, and survived the Emperor Domitian. Considering his brilliant talents, he might have secured an honourable and independent existence, but he preferred, as he himself says, *casu vivere*, that is, to live as a retainer and flatterer of wealthy friends, to write poems to order, and to solicit gifts from the powerful. He often alludes to his poverty, and craves the assistance of friends, though he himself occasionally speaks with contempt of those who followed a similar course. From Domitian, who, according to him,

* The best modern editions of Statius are those of Fr. Dübner: Paris, 1835, in 2 vols.; and of G. Queck: Leipzig, 1854, in 2 vols.

was the very pattern of a good and wise ruler, he received honours and titles, and apparently, also, a small estate near Nomentum. That he did not praise the tyrant because he really believed him to deserve it, but because he hoped to benefit himself thereby, is clear from the fact that, like Statius, he blamed Nero, and spoke in high praise of such men as Arria and Thrasea Pætus. We cannot, therefore, speak of Martial's personal character without a feeling of disgust and contempt. His works consist of a collection of epigrams, in fifteen books, the subject of which is the social life of the Romans of his day, with all its immoralities and servility. He seems to gloat over what is frivolous and licentious, and to be totally devoid of the sense of morality and manly honour. As a poet, however, he ranks very high, and his epigrams are distinguished for their ease and elegance. They are mostly composed in the elegiac metre.*

145. The number of persons who wrote poetry in the reign of Domitian was immense; it was a fashion, or rather mania, to make verses and recite them at private meetings of friends, or in public; few of them, however, seem to have been published. We shall name only a few of the more prominent poets of this class:—

L. Arruntius Stella, of Naples, was consul in A.D. 101, and a friend of Statius who, as well as Martial, often mentions him. He wrote erotic elegies, addressed to the beautiful and wealthy Violentilla, whom he afterwards married.

Turnus, a freedman, who rose to high honours under the Flavian emperors, wrote satires, while his brother *Scævius Memor* composed tragedies.

Verginius Rufus was consul three times, and died, A.D. 93, during his third consulship. He was a friend of the younger Pliny, who mentions him among writers of erotic poetry.

Vestricius Spurinna is described as a fresh and cheerful old man, in A.D. 101, and as engaged in writing lyric poetry,

* The best modern editions of Martial are those of F. G. Schneidevin: Grima, 1842; and the text in Teubner's collection. A good selection for schools with notes has been edited by F. A. Paley: London, 1875.

both in Latin and in Greek. In his earlier years he had distinguished himself in the war against the Bructeri, in Germany; in A.D. 69 he had fought on the side of Otho, and under Domitian he was raised to the consulship.

Sulpicia, the wife of Calenus, likewise wrote erotic poetry. We still possess, under her name, seventy hexameter lines of a satire, expressing noble and patriotic feelings; but it is extremely doubtful whether they are the production of the erotic poetess. They seem rather to be the effusions of some modern poet of the fifteenth century.*

146. Among the prose writers of the time the most eminent is **M. Fabius Quintilianus**, born at Calagurris in Spain, about A.D. 35. His father seems to have lived at Rome, and to have enjoyed a great reputation as a teacher of rhetoric; at all events, Quintilian was educated at Rome, and there had ample opportunities of hearing distinguished orators and rhetoricians. In A.D. 61 he accompanied Galba into Spain, and returned with him, A.D. 68. After that time he appears to have adopted the profession of a pleader in the courts of law, and also to have delivered declamations on imaginary subjects. Some few specimens of his oratory are still extant,† and he complains that some of his speeches had been taken down by his hearers and published against his will; but he gained his greatest reputation as a teacher of oratory, and was the first rhetorician who received a fixed annual salary from the fiscus. He had very many and distinguished pupils, such as the younger Pliny; and Domitian entrusted to him the education of the grandsons of his sister Domitilla, and conferred upon him the dignity of a consular. Quintilian could not but feel grateful for such distinctions, and if we further bear in mind the usual manner of speaking of the emperor at the time, we cannot be severe upon the flattering manner in which he mentions his patron. Quintilian seems to have acquired a considerable fortune, which, after having been engaged in teaching for a period of twenty years, enabled him to retire, about A.D. 90. The time of his death is unknown, though it must have occurred before A.D. 106. His own work, as well as the testimony of others, shows that

* See Wernsdorf, *Poetae Latini Minores*, Vol. III., p. 81, foll.
† See Meyer, *Orat. Rom. Fragm.*, p. 595.

Quintilian was a man of a mild and humane disposition, that he enjoyed his high position without pride or arrogance, and was always ready to acknowledge the merits of others.

Besides his great work which we still possess, we know that he also wrote others which are lost, such as *De Causis Corruptæ Eloquentiæ*. His most important work bears the title *De Institutione Oratoria*, in twelve books. It was composed, after his withdrawal from the profession of a teacher, within the space of two years, and comprises the matured results of a long experience. The work, which is dedicated to Victorius Marcellus, begins with an introduction addressed to his publisher Typho. The author himself says that the work is not intended for boys, but for good and studious young men. It contains a complete system of instruction for a future orator, illustrating the various principles by examples, and giving most valuable hints on education in general. He especially recommends a careful study of the classical writers in both languages, and this leads him to give in the tenth book a brief critical survey of the history of Greek and Latin literature. In establishing his theory of oratory, he mainly follows Cicero; but taking him as his basis he constructs an independent system, enriched by his own experience. Quintilian knew the corrupt taste of his age, and endeavoured to counteract the prevailing vicious style of oratory, but was himself unable entirely to emancipate himself from its influence. His style is indeed free from bombast and the usual rhetorical embellishments; but the influence of the times shows itself occasionally in the harshness of his expressions, and in the complexity and awkwardness in the construction of his periods.*

There were several contemporaries of Quintilian who distinguished themselves as orators, but some of them abused their powers by acting as informers.

147. **Sex. Julius Frontinus**, born about A.D. 40, was one of the most honourable characters of this period, and rose to the highest honours by his own merits. In A.D. 70 he was

* The best critical edition of Quintilian is that begun by G. L. Spalding in 1798, and completed by C. G. Zumpt and E. Bonnell, 1834, in 6 vols. A good text was edited by Bonnell: Leipzig, 1854, in 2 vols.

prætor urbanus; in A.D. 74 he was sent as proconsul into Britain, to succeed Petilius Cerealis, and subdued the powerful and warlike tribe of the Silures. He also appears to have taken part in the war against the Chatti, in Germany. After his return to Rome he lived quietly on an estate on the coast of Campania, devoting himself to scientific and literary pursuits. Nerva, on his accession, A.D. 97, called him back into active life, raised him to the consulship, and at the same time appointed him to the office of *curator aquarum*, that is, the superintendence of the aqueducts supplying the city of Rome with water. He seems to have died about A.D. 103. Frontinus was an able commander in war, and an excellent man of business. All we know of him shows that he was a man of honour, free from pretension and arrogance. He never flattered Domitian.

His authorship is limited to technical or professional subjects, about which he had acquired much practical experience during his active life. He wrote:—

1. *De Agrorum Qualitate, De Controversiis, De Limitibus*, etc., a work which consisted of at least two books, and treated of the measurement, the division, etc., of lands. It now exists only in a very mutilated form.*

2. *De Re Militari Romanorum*, in which he explained the principles of military tactics and military affairs in general. The work is now lost, but we may regard the treatise of Vegetius *De Re Militari* as a kind of epitome of it.

3. *Strategematicon libri IV.*, is a collection of various military stratagems. The stories are not always quite correct; but they are nevertheless valuable, on account of much interesting information not to be found elsewhere. This work also has come down to us with many interpolations made by others, whence some critics have been led to doubt the genuineness of the whole. The fourth book is properly only an appendix, containing acts and expressions referring to military affairs. This book, with its boastful rhetorical beginning, is very unlike the simple style of Frontinus; and, as it contains nothing that had not already been stated in the three preceding books, or is not to be found in other

* The most correct edition is that in C. Lachmann's *Gromatici*, Vol. I., p. 1, foll.

extant works, it is generally considered to be an addition made by some compiler of the fourth or fifth century.

4. *De Aquis Urbis Romæ*, in one book, was probably written in A.D. 97, but not published till after the death of Nerva, which happened A.D. 117. This work treats of everything connected with the planning, building, and keeping in repair of the aqueducts, and is written in a clear and simple style. It is of considerable importance in the history of ancient architecture.*

148. Among the many grammarians of the age of Domitian, we may mention *Æmilius Asper*, who wrote an excellent commentary on Vergil, which is often mentioned, and also commentaries on Terence and Sallust.

It has already been remarked that history was almost silent during the reign of Domitian, and that it was dangerous to write about contemporary events, unless it was done in a spirit of servility and adulation; hence *Arulenus Rusticus* had to lay down his life, because he had written laudatory biographies of Thrasea Pætus and Helvidius Priscus. Others, as *Herennius Senecio*, were sentenced to death because they professed the Stoic philosophy.

B. LATIN LITERATURE DURING THE SECOND CENTURY.

(FROM THE ACCESSION OF NERVA, A.D. 96, TO THE ACCESSION OF CARACALLA, A.D. 211).

149. A new life began with the accession of Nerva, in A.D. 96, and men whose mouths had been sealed during the reign of Domitian now gave vent to their feelings of anger and indignation. Nerva himself, whose father and grandfather had been distinguished jurists, had some literary taste; but his reign was too short to produce any marked effect, and his successor Trajan (A.D. 98-117) was too much occupied with foreign wars to exercise any great influence upon literature. Under him and his successors we cannot but be struck by the unfortunate consequences of the despotic proceedings of the rulers of the first century. The age seems to have

* The best edition of the *Strategematica* is still that of F. Oudendorp: Leyden, 1731, and 1779; an edition of the text of the *Strategematica* and of the *De Aquæductibus urbis Romæ* is published in Teubner's collection, by A. Dederich, 1855.

lost the power of producing anything independent or original, and most writers showed their want of taste by adopting a style which consisted of a jumbling together of all kinds of styles, and by hunting after what was rare, archaic, and far fetched. Such was the case, especially under Hadrian, when a pedant like Fronto became the leading spirit in literature. Although most writers looked to the past for models, they were unable to comprehend or grasp its spirit, and to make the right use of it. Learning and erudition became as common and as fashionable as verse-making had been under Domitian; and to make the acquisition of this superficial kind of learning easy, abridgements and epitomes of the earlier works were drawn up for those who had no time or inclination for the study of the great works of their ancestors. Oratory degenerated more and more into declamatory displays or show speeches, which were the fashion in all parts of the empire, and were delivered and published both in Greek and in Latin. The practical sciences of medicine and law alone continued to be cultivated with earnestness and brilliant success, and the writings in these departments are free from the stylistic faults of the times. Poetry died out almost entirely. The ancient religion had indeed sunk more and more in popular estimation; but superstition and the love of the marvellous were nevertheless on the increase, and offered temptation to swindlers and miracle-mongers of every description. Such circumstances paved the way for the introduction of Christianity, which had already taken root in the Greek-speaking parts of the empire, and now also began to attract attention in the Latin or western portions. Its doctrines of divine mercy and of a future life of bliss and happiness were particularly comforting to the poor and the oppressed, and filled them with an enthusiasm that feared neither death nor torture. The same spirit soon also seized the educated classes, and the grand idea of one God, the creator of heaven and earth, could not fail to exercise upon them a most powerful influence, as they had already renounced the ideas of polytheism as unsatisfactory. A fresh stimulus was thus given to intellectual life: for those still clinging to their ancient religion either opposed the new one with all their might, or endeavoured to show that it taught nothing

which was not already thought or implied in the religion of their ancestors, while the advocates of Christianity made every effort and every sacrifice to ensure its propagation. The Latin language also underwent considerable changes, especially in the province of Africa, where what is called the "African Latinity" is represented by several important writers.

150. By far the most distinguished among the poets of the time of Trajan is the satirist **D. Junius Juvenalis**. There are no fewer than seven brief biographies of Juvenal which are assigned to as many ancient grammarians, and yet we know very little of his life beyond what can be gleaned from his own satires. He must have been born about A.D. 54, probably at Arpinum, in Latium, and was the son of a libertinus, who seems to have owned considerable property. He received the ordinary education of a Roman boy, and having devoted himself to rhetoric as a youth he practised it as a man for his own amusement till about A.D. 94, about which time he seems to have offended Domitian, and to have been sent into Egypt to undertake some military command. Soon after the murder of Domitian he appears to have been allowed to return to Rome, being then about 40 years of age. He did not write, or at least recite, any of his satires, till after the death of Domitian. This occupation he continued under Trajan and Hadrian. The time of his death is unknown, though it seems probable that he survived the accession of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138), and that he died at the advanced age of about 80. From his own poems we learn that he was a friend of the poet Statius, and knew Quintilian.

The number of Juvenal's satires is sixteen, distributed among five books. The order in which they are usually printed seems to be the same as that in which they were written. The last two are of a moralising character. They do not possess the vigour and freshness of the others, and make the impression of being the productions of an old man. The effects of his rhetorical occupations during the first half of his life are visible in his poetry. What induced him to write satires was, as he himself intimates, his indignation at the vices and atrocities he had witnessed in the time of

Domitian, which had filled his mind, while he was obliged to be silent, with anger and scorn. To these feelings he gives vent under more favourable circumstances, and he does so with a sense of pleasure and satisfaction, being evidently without faith in man and without hope for him. The subjects of his satires belong to the time in which he wrote, but prudence told him to speak *at* the present generation by speaking *of* the past, that is, he writes under Trajan as if he lived under Nero and Domitian. He intentionally selected subjects which presented the darkest side of the social and political life of the time, which he exposes and lashes without mercy. He shows a most extensive knowledge of the world and of human nature, or rather of the worst side of it. He is not a man of refined taste, his mind is powerful, but not pure. Occasionally we meet, indeed, with a charming picture of private life, but on the whole he gives us only the coarse reality without an atoning antidote. He knows the faults and vices of his time, and seems almost to revel in painting them. In regard to the form and structure of his poetry, Juvenal is certainly not an artistic poet of a high order. His views and thoughts, as they are accidentally called forth, so they are accidentally strung together, without internal or natural connection. The numerous allusions to occurrences of the time often render it difficult to understand the meaning and drift of his satires, or of passages in them; hence commentaries or scholia were written upon them by grammarians at an early time, and some of them are still extant.*

The mania of writing verses continued during the reign of Trajan, as we must infer from the number of persons mentioned by the younger Pliny as having written and published poems. Some attempted epic and others elegiac poetry, while others again tried their skill in comedy, but none of their productions has survived to our time.

151. The foremost place among the prose writers of the time of Nerva and Trajan is due to **Cornelius Tacitus**, born

* The best modern editions of Juvenal are those of C. F. Heinrich: Bonn, 1839, in 2 vols.; of O. Jahn: Berlin, 1851, both of which editions contain the ancient scholia; and of A. J. Macleane (together with the satires of Persius): London, 1857.

about A.D. 54 (whether at Interamna or at Rome is uncertain); he was probably the son of Cornelius Tacitus, a Roman eques, who was entrusted with the financial affairs of Belgium. Tacitus, like Juvenal, had to spend the best part of his life, under Domitian, in forced silence. In A.D. 78 he married the daughter of Agricola; and as in the same year the latter proceeded to Britain, it is not unlikely that Tacitus may have accompanied him, for in some parts of the life of Agricola he shows a knowledge of the country, which could scarcely have been acquired without seeing it. Some dignity was conferred upon him by Vespasian, which was increased by Titus; this must have been about A.D. 80, but in what this increase consisted can only be conjectured, and may have been the ædileship or the tribunate of the plebs. In A.D. 88, when the secular games were celebrated at Rome, Tacitus was prætor, and invested with the priestly office of quindecimvir, and in the year after this he and his wife seem to have left Rome, perhaps to get out of the way of the jealous despot Domitian. After the death of Agricola, in A.D. 93, he seems to have returned to Rome, as he blames himself for being, to some extent, responsible for the death of the younger Helvidius. In A.D. 97, the first year of Nerva's reign, Tacitus was raised to the consulship, in the place of Verginius Rufus who had died, and on whom he delivered a most eloquent funeral oration. The only other event of his life we know of is that, in A.D. 100, he and Pliny conducted the accusation against Marius Priscus. The time of his death is uncertain, but his life seems to have extended into the reign of Hadrian, so that his death must have taken place about A.D. 120. He had intended, after the completion of his *Annales*, to write the history of Augustus and his time, but the plan was probably frustrated by his death.

There can be no doubt that Tacitus, like many others, had become embittered by the necessity of suppressing his indignation at the proceedings he had witnessed during the reign of Domitian. Like other thoughtful men he was, indeed, convinced that the monarchy was the only possible form of government for the Romans at the time; but in theory and in his heart he was attached to an aristocratic republic, and he resigned himself to what could not be avoided, differing

in this respect from some philosophers who loudly deplored the loss of liberty, and paid for their presumption with their lives. As an historian, his first object always is to ascertain the facts from the best authorities, exercising his critical judgment in their selection, and whatever the result is he expresses without reserve, though not without occasionally giving a hint as to his own subjective opinion. His mode of writing history may be described as pragmatism, that is, he conscientiously traces events to their causes, whether they lie in the circumstances of the time or in the character of men, and it is especially in the psychological analysis of the latter that Tacitus is unequalled. The tone which pervades his historical compositions is serious, sad, and sometimes bitter; but he always avoids rhetorical and passionate exaggeration as unbecoming the dignity of an historian. During the first period of his authorship he appears to have been desirous to follow the style of his classical predecessors; but after a time he made up his mind to adopt that of his own age with its tinge of poetical colouring and its antithetical pointedness, but in such a manner that its epigrammatical conciseness, novelty, and boldness, goes even beyond the general character of the style common in his day, and by its brevity and difficulties he compels his readers to think and to ponder. The chief cause of the difficulties of Tacitus lies in his brevity: for he never uses more words than are absolutely necessary, and he thus forms a strong contrast to the copious style of Livy and Cicero. As to his religious views, the horrors which he had witnessed, and the impunity with which the wicked trampled on the good and innocent, often throws him into a state of despondency, and into a belief that the gods are either indifferent to the affairs of men, or are angry with them, and that therefore the world is left to fate, or to chance. He does not appear to have embraced any particular system of philosophy, but in his ethical views he shows most sympathy with the Stoics.

The following is a list of the writings of Tacitus, in the order in which they were written:—

1. *Dialogus de Oratoribus*.—This work was composed in the reign of Titus, or in the beginning of that of Domitian, and is the first-fruit of his historical studies. In it Tacitus

compares the state of oratory in his own time with that of earlier days, and points out the causes of its decline since the establishment of the empire. The dialogue is constructed in such a manner that the speakers, without interruption, explain their views in long speeches; the speakers are literary celebrities of the time of Vespasian. The work contains a vast deal of information and excellent criticisms of men and things. Tacitus is throughout an admirer of the good old times, and of such men as Gracchus and Cato, though he is well aware that not everything ancient is also good. The style of the dialogue is more easy and fluent than in his later writings; nor is there, as yet, any trace of the bitterness which we find in his great historical works.*

2. *De vita et moribus Agricolæ liber* was written in the lifetime of Nerva, after his adoption of Trajan, which occurred in A.D. 97. Tacitus himself describes this biography as the precursor of larger historical works, which were to contain the records of former servitude and a testimony of present blessings. The somewhat rhetorical character of the work reminds us of the *laudationes funebres*. The author's later style is not yet completely developed; but the whole is written in a kindly spirit and with warm affection.†

3. *De origine, situ, moribus ac populis Germanorum*, sometimes called simply *Germania*, is an ethnographical treatise on Germany and the Germans, which Tacitus was induced to compose on account of the great interest which at that time Germany had for the Romans. He had probably seen parts of Germany at the time when his father was officially engaged in Belgium. He contrasts the rude and simple manners of the Germans with the luxury and rotten social condition of the Romans; but although he knows the latter in all its hideousness he is at heart a Roman, and neither blind to the good qualities of his countrymen nor to the failings of the Germans. The whole is written, like the *Agricola*, in a kindly spirit, sometimes verging on sentimentality. Among his written authorities he

* Good separate editions of this dialogue are those of Fr. Ritter: Bonn, 1836; and of E. Dronke: Coblenz, 1828.

† The best separate editions of the *Agricola* are those of C. F. Wex: Braunschweig, 1858; and of Fr. Kritz: Berlin, 1865.

mentions only Cæsar, though he must have used others also.*

4. *Historiæ*.—This work comprised, in fourteen books, the history of the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, *i.e.*, the history of Rome from A.D. 69 to 96, or the history of Tacitus' own time. At an advanced age he intended to add the history of Nerva, but was prevented by death. Of the original fourteen books we now possess only the first four and a portion of the fifth, and these parts comprise only the history of the years 69 and 70. The work must have been published after the death of Nerva.†

5. *Annales*, or *Ab excessu divi Augusti*.—After finishing the *Historiæ*, Tacitus went back and undertook to write the history of Rome from the death of Augustus till he reached the beginning of the *Historiæ*, *i.e.*, it comprised the history of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, so that the two works together formed a continuous history from the death of Augustus to that of Domitian. This work was written in the reign of Trajan, and must have been published between A.D. 115 and 117. It consisted of sixteen books, but a considerable part of it is lost. We now possess only the first four books, with parts of the fifth and sixth, and the last books from the eleventh to the sixteenth; but of the eleventh the beginning is wanting, and of the sixteenth the end. The whole of the reign of Caligula, and the beginning of that of Claudius, and the last two years of Nero, are thus lost. The title *Annales* probably intimates that the author adheres more strictly to the chronological order of events than he did in the *Historiæ*.‡

152. Next to Tacitus the most important writer of the time of Trajan is C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, commonly called *Pliny the younger*; he was the son of L. Cæcilius, who had married a sister of the elder Pliny, and was born at Como in A.D. 62. He lost his father at an early age, but

* Good separate editions of this treatise are those of Fr. Kritze: Berlin, 1869; and R. G. Latham: London, 1851.

† A good separate edition is that of Th. Kiessling: Leipzig, 1840.

‡ The *Annales* have been edited separately by Th. Kiessling: Leipzig, 1829; and by Nipperdey: Berlin, 1864. The best modern editions of all the works of Tacitus are those of I. Bekker: Leipzig, 1831, in 2 vols.; and by Fr. Ritter: Cambridge, 1848, 4 vols.

was taken care of by his uncle, Pliny, and his guardian, Verginius Rufus, and was carefully educated at Rome, where, among others, he received instruction from Quintilian. In his nineteenth year he began his active career as a pleader in the law courts; and he himself tells us of many speeches which he delivered there, and which he afterwards revised and published. At a later time we find him serving as a military tribune in Syria, where he became acquainted with the philosophers Euphrates and Artemidorus. On his return to Rome he obtained successively the offices of quaestor Cæsaris, tribune of the plebs, and prætor; the last of which he held when he was only thirty years old. In order to avoid coming into conflict with the despotic Domitian he withdrew into private life, from which he did not emerge until after the accession of Nerva, under whom he obtained the præfectura ærarii, and, in A.D. 100, the rank of a consular. On the occasion of obtaining this last distinction he delivered the speech known by the name of the "Panegyricus." Ten or eleven years later he was entrusted with the administration of the province of Bithynia; and, during the time of his stay in Asia, he kept up an active correspondence with the Emperor Trajan. The time of his death is unknown; but considering that he was a man of a feeble constitution, he is not likely to have lived to an advanced age. Whether he died in his province or soon after his return cannot be decided, though his death must have occurred about A.D. 113.

Pliny was connected by friendship with the most eminent men of his time, such as Quintilian, Tacitus, Silius Italicus, Martial, and many others. He was a man of a most generous and kind-hearted disposition, which he showed especially toward his native town of Como, where he founded a library and public baths. His great weakness was vanity, although it never shows itself in an offensive manner, or in depreciation of others. Taking him all in all it has been justly said that he was really great in nothing, but small in many things, though he always aimed at what was good and noble.

In his earlier years Pliny, like most other young Romans, tried his hands at poetical composition. At the age of fourteen he wrote a tragedy, and on his return from Syria, when detained in the island of Icaria, he wrote an elegy upon the

island; in fact, he never seems to have given up poetical composition altogether. He published sixteen speeches belonging to the time of his acting as a pleader, but only a few fragments of them have come down to us, which are collected in Meyer's *Orat. Rom. Fragm.*, p. 598, foll. Only one speech, the *Panegyricus*, has reached our time; it was addressed to Trajan, whom he thanked for the honour of the consulship. In it he gives a description of the emperor's government, which is of considerable historical importance, but very wearisome on account of the bombastic style and the extravagant praise he lavishes upon the sovereign.

After the accession of Nerva, Pliny wrote a series of letters with the avowed intention of their being published. These letters have come down to us in nine books, which seem to have been published separately as they were written, from A.D. 97 to 109. To this collection was afterwards added a tenth book, containing his correspondence with the Emperor Trajan during his governorship of Bithynia. All these letters treat of a multitude of subjects, and place their author before us in every variety of circumstances. He is quite frank and open, but is always trying to place himself in the most favourable light, a weakness which may easily be forgiven, as he is always aiming at what is really good and honourable. The style of his letters, in which he endeavoured to imitate Cicero, is smooth and polished; but they want the intellect and genius of Cicero. At one time Pliny seems to have contemplated writing historical works; but we do not know that he composed anything else than two rhetorical biographies of Helvidius Priscus and Vestricius Cottius, which are now lost. It may be that the brilliant success of Tacitus as an historian deterred him from entering into competition with him.*

153. The letters of Pliny make us acquainted with the names of a great many men who distinguished themselves at the time as orators, both in the senate and in the courts of

* A good edition of Pliny's *Panegyricus* was published by J. M. Gesner: Göttingen, 1749. Good editions of the letters are those of Veenhusius: Leyden, 1669; and of J. Cortius and P. D. Longolius: Amsterdam, 1734. The best edition of all the extant works of Pliny is that of H. Keil: Leipzig, 1870.

law, and some of whom also published their speeches. The increased activity in this department, and the decrease of mere declamatory or show speeches, is a sign that freedom was raising her head again. One of the most eminent rhetorical orators was *P. Annius Florus*, of whose speech *Vergilius, orator an poeta*, an interesting fragment still exists. He also wrote poetry in the time of Hadrian, and may be the same Florus under whose name we have twenty-six trochaic tetrameters and five hexameter lines on roses (see A. Riese, *Anthol. Lat.*, p. 168, foll.).

Jurisprudence is represented in Trajan's time by a great number of eminent men who enlarged the science of law by works on a variety of legal questions, which became standard books, and are often referred to in the Digest.

Among the grammarians of the time we must mention *Flavius Caper*, two of whose treatises, *De orthographia* and *De verbis dubiis*, are still extant, though they are apparently only meagre abridgments of the original works. *Veliu Longus*, who also wrote a work, *De orthographia*, which is still extant, and a commentary on Vergil. These grammatical treatises are printed in the collections of ancient grammarians.

There remain, lastly, some technical writers belonging to the same time, as—

1. *Hyginus*, who wrote a comprehensive work on land surveying, of which we still possess some remains, viz., *De munitionibus, de limitibus constituendis*, of which the work of Frontinus seems to have formed the basis.

2. *Balbus*, who wrote an exposition of geometrical forms (*Expositio et ratio omnium formarum*). This was a manual for practical land surveyors, mainly based on Euclid and Heron.

3. *Siculus Flaccus*, who wrote a work, *De conditionibus agrorum*, which is still extant in a good and complete condition. The writer limits himself to the consideration of the lands in Italy, and seems to have written his work after the death of Domitian. The remains of this and other writers on land surveying are collected in C. Lachmann's *Gromatici*.

154. The Emperor *Hadrian*, who reigned from A.D. 117 to 138, was himself fond of every kind of literature. He was a

ready speaker, and even wrote poetry, both in Latin and in Greek; but, with the capriciousness peculiar to his character, he on the one hand honoured and enriched men of letters, while on the other he laughed at them and despised them, thinking himself superior to them all. His tastes were in favour of the literature of the classical period. He seems to have published some of his speeches, or at least to have allowed them to be published by some of his freedmen; and his funeral oration on his mother-in-law is still preserved in an inscription. His reign, therefore, was not without some influence upon literature, though it would be difficult to say whether it was more beneficial or more injurious.

During the whole of his reign we do not hear of a single poet of eminence. *Annianus* is mentioned as the author of a poem called *Falisca*, on the pleasures of country life, and of *Fescennines*. A few men, such as *Annius Florus*, *L. Ælius Verus*, *Voconius*, and many others, like the emperor himself, wrote verses, but more as a playful amusement, without any higher aim, and none of their productions have come down to our time.

155. The most important prose writer in the reign of Hadrian was *C. Suetonius Tranquillus*, of whose life we know very little, but who must have been born shortly before A.D. 75. He came forward as a pleader and an author in the reign of Trajan, and seems to have been a friend of the younger Pliny, in whose letters he is repeatedly mentioned. In a letter, written about A.D. 105, Pliny urges him at length to publish his books, and some years later he obtained for him the *jus trium liberorum* and the tribuneship. Hadrian afterwards made him his private secretary; but in consequence of some supposed misconduct towards the empress during her husband's travels he was dismissed. After this time he appears to have devoted himself exclusively to literary pursuits, especially to the history of the Latin literature and language: for his taste was thoroughly national, and he tried to follow in the footsteps of Varro, Santra, Nepos, and Hyginus. He was the author of many works, one of which only has come down to us complete, while most of them are known to us only by abridgments and extracts.

1. *De viris illustribus*, a large collection of lives of Roman

poets, orators, historians, philosophers, grammarians, and rhetoricians, from the earliest times to the end of the reign of Domitian. Of the first portion of this extensive literary history we possess only abridgments which were made by *Diomedes* and *Hieronymus*; but of the part devoted to the poets we still have the lives of Terence, Horace, and portions of those of Vergil, Persius, and Lucan. There is also a fragment of the life of the elder Pliny. The part treating of grammarians and rhetoricians is more complete, though still more defective, than any of the others. What great loss we have sustained in this work may be seen by a glance at the lists of names prefixed to the several sections.

2. *Præta*, in eight books. The first treated *de anno Romanorum* and all its sub-divisions, another treated *de natura rerum*, a third *de genere vestium*, and others *de vitiis corporum*, *verborum differentia*, etc. Some parts were written in hexameter verse. Of this work also we possess only fragments.

3. *De regibus*, in three books, of which only a few fragments are extant.

4. *Ludicra historia*, partly in Latin and partly in Greek; some portions of it were likewise written in verse.

5. *De rebus variis*.—The extant fragments of all these works have been collected by A. Reifferscheid, in his work entitled *C. Suetonii Tranquilli præter Caesarum libros reliquæ*: Leipzig, 1860.

6. *Vitæ Caesarum*, in eight books, one of the principal works of Suetonius, is the only one that has come down to us entire. It is dedicated to C. Septicius Clarus, the præfectus prætorio (which office he held from A.D. 119 to 121), so that the work must have been published about A.D. 120. The lives of the first six emperors, from J. Cæsar to Nero, are described in as many books; Otho, Galba, and Vitellius, occupy the seventh book; and the three Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, the eighth. The beginning of the life of Cæsar is wanting. In drawing up this work, Suetonius availed himself of the best authorities, and used them with care and judgment; but he has neglected the chronology of events, and shows little insight into human nature and into political matters. The lives are full of anecdotes, in the selection of which he does not always show a refined taste;

but he nowhere perverts or suppresses the truth, neither does he flatter Domitian or any other of the contemptible tyrants. Commodus ordered any one that had read Suetonius' life of Caligula to be thrown to the wild beasts. Valuable as the lives are in an historical point of view, they are not works of art, and cannot be compared to Tacitus' life of Agricola.*

156. **Julius Florus**, is the author of a brief history of Rome, in two books, from the earliest times down to the peace with the Parthians in the reign of Augustus. Of his personal history nothing is known; and while some have regarded him as a contemporary of Augustus, others, with far more probability, place him in the time of Trajan and Hadrian. The work is, on the whole, an epitome of Livy; but the author has also consulted Caesar, Sallust, and Lucan. The character of the work may be described as a panegyric on the Roman people, the object of the author being not so much to relate the wars of the Romans as to extol their virtues. Such a scheme could not be carried out without misrepresenting history; and, besides this, the work is full of errors and misunderstandings. The style is full of rhetorical artifices of every kind, and in his rhetorical fashion he laments the increasing degeneracy of the Romans, and attributes almost all their misfortunes to the pernicious influence of the tribunes of the plebs—a proof how little he understood the history of his own country.†

157. The most distinguished among the jurists of Hadrian's time was **Salvius Julianus**, who, by command of the emperor, collected and arranged the edicts of the prætors of the republican period. He was a native of Adrumetum in Africa, and was entrusted with several high offices of state. He wrote an *edictum perpetuum* and *Digesta* in ninety books, many parts of which were afterwards incorporated in the *Digesta* of Justinian. Besides these he composed several other legal works, which are often referred to by later jurists.

* A good edition of Suetonius is that of I. A. Ernesti, re-edited by F. A. Wolf: Leipzig, 1802, in 4 vols. A good text is that edited by C. L. Roth, in Teubner's collection, 1858.

† The best critical edition is that of O. Jahn: Leipzig, 1856; and a good text is that edited by C. Halm in Teubner's collection.

Other distinguished lawyers of the same period are **Aburnius Valens**, who wrote *Actiones*, in at least seven books, and *libri fideicommissorum*, likewise in at least seven books. **Sextus Pomponius** published epistles, a history of the Roman law, and many other legal treatises of great value, which are often quoted in the *Digesta*.

158. Most of the rhetoricians of Hadrian's time wrote in Greek; among those who wrote in Latin we may mention the Spaniard **Antonius Julianus**, who, like **T. Castricius**, is mentioned among the teachers of Gellius, and **Calpurnius Flaccus**, of whom fifty-one declamations are still extant, but of whom nothing further is known. These declamations are published in P. Burmann's *Rhetores Minores*: Leyden, 1720.

The most celebrated grammarian of this time is **Q. Terentius Scaurus**, who wrote a Latin grammar, a treatise on poetry (*poetica*), and commentaries on Plautus and Vergil. These works are now lost, but are frequently referred to by the later grammarians, Charisius and Diomedes. Flaccus was an advocate of the style and language of Cicero. The little work *De Orthographia*, which is still extant, and bears his name, is at best only an abridgment of a real work of Scaurus.

The philosophers of the time of Hadrian, when they wrote at all, wrote in Greek.

A physician of the name of **Cælius Aurelianus**, a native of Sicca, in Numidia, wrote in Latin two treatises, one on acute diseases, in three books, and the other on chronic diseases, in five books. Both works are still extant, and are printed in the different collections of the *Medici Veteres*. Other works by the same author are lost. The style of his works is simple, but in the description of diseases it becomes lively and animated, though the language has the peculiarities of the African Latinity.

159. The reign of Antoninus Pius, from A.D. 138 to 161, was eminently favourable to literature, but the Romans seem to have lost all creative power. Their taste had so much degenerated that the pedantic affectations of a man like Fronto for a long time became the oracle of what true oratory should be, and that he even became the founder of a school which called itself after him the school of Fronto (*Frontoniani*).

Jurisprudence and grammatical literature alone continued to flourish.

M. Cornelius Fronto, generally described by writers of the next centuries as *the orator*, and regarded by his contemporaries as second only to Cicero, was a native of Cirta, in Africa, and born about A.D. 90. After having received his education there, or perhaps at Alexandria, he went to Rome, where he soon created a great sensation as a pleader in the courts of justice, as early as the time of Hadrian, who had a very high opinion of his abilities. Antoninus Pius entertained the same respect for him, and not only raised him to the consulship, in A.D. 143, but entrusted to him the education of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, for he had in the meantime gained the highest reputation as a teacher of oratory. The affection and attachment which was thus formed between Fronto and his princely pupils lasted to the end of their lives. After he had held the consulship it was intended that he should undertake the administration of the province of Asia; but he declined the honour on the plea of infirm health, for he suffered much from gout, of which he very often complains in his letters. He appears to have become possessed of considerable property, for he owned the gardens of Mæcenas and several villas, and expended large sums upon the building of splendid baths. He seems to have died in A.D. 168, in the reign of M. Aurelius, for there are no letters of a later date than that year. He left behind him only one daughter, his wife and five children having died before him. The affectionate friendship subsisting between him and the Emperor M. Aurelius is the best evidence of the kind and amiable characters of both men. Fronto's admiration of his patron sometimes degenerates into flattery, though at other times he does not hesitate to tell him disagreeable truths. When the emperor had made up his mind to devote himself to the study of philosophy, Fronto left no means untried to dissuade him from it, and to win him back to oratory, which, in his estimation, was the only pursuit worthy of a great mind.

Fronto's favourite authors, whose study he also recommended to his pupils as models worthy of imitation, were Ennius, Plautus, Cato, Gracchus, Lucretius, Laberius, and

Sallust. Cicero is sometimes praised by him, more especially when he needs the support of his authority in setting forth the advantages of oratory, otherwise he seems to speak of him with a kind of secret contempt, and certainly professes to prefer his letters to his speeches. What he misses in Cicero are the very things through which his own style becomes pedantic and tasteless, viz., the aiming at what is rare, old-fashioned, unusual, and novel. Against the philosopher Seneca he has a very strong prejudice.

Till very recent times the only work of Fronto known to exist was a small treatise *De Differentiis Vocabulorum*; but in 1814, A. Mai discovered a palimpsest, containing a considerable portion of the correspondence between Fronto, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, and several other friends. Subsequently another portion of letters was found in the Vatican library, at Rome, where the whole collection was published, in 1823. These discoveries brought to light not only a considerable part of the correspondence of Fronto, but fragments of essays on various subjects; the contents however are so trivial, and the style is so vapid, that scholars were not a little disappointed in their expectations. The correspondence between Fronto and his imperial pupils is indeed pleasing, inasmuch as it shows the kindly relation subsisting between them; but it treats almost exclusively of the most ordinary domestic occurrences. The following is a list of the works thus partially recovered, for scarcely one is complete, most of them being, to a very great extent, mutilated:—

1. *Epistolarum ad M. Cæsarem libri V.*, addressed to M. Aurelius before his accession, comprising in all 122 letters, some of which are only short notes.
2. *Epistolarum ad Antoninum Imperatorem libri II.*, comprising eighteen letters, written after the accession of M. Aurelius.
3. *Epistolæ ad Verum*, consisting of only two letters, probably addressed to M. Aurelius before his accession, when he was generally called M. Annius Verus.
4. *Epistolarum ad Verum Imperatorem liber*, comprising thirteen letters, six by Verus and seven by Fronto.
5. *De Bello Parthico*, a fragment of the history of the war against the Parthians, drawn up at the request of Verus.

6. *De Feriis Alsicensibus*, consisting of four epistles, in which Fronto advises the emperor to make use of these holidays for his recreation.

7. *De Nepote Amissio*, a letter of condolence, written by M. Aurelius to Fronto upon the death of the latter's grandson, with a lengthy reply by Fronto.

8. *Arion*, a rhetorical exercise on the story of Arion, as related by Herodotus.

9. *De Eloquentia*, a fragment of an epistle addressed to M. Caesar.

10. *De Oratationibus*, two letters addressed to Antoninus Augustus.

11. *Epistolæ ad Antoninum Pium*, in all nine letters, the addresses of two of which are uncertain.

12. *Epistolarum ad Amicos libri II.*, containing thirty-seven letters written by Fronto, except one which is written by the Greek historian Appian, in Greek, to which Fronto replies in Greek.

13. *Principia Historiæ*, is only a short fragment of an epistle sent to L. Verus, who had requested Fronto to write a history of the war he had carried on against the Parthians.

14. *Laudes fumi et Pulveris*, and *Laudes Negligentiæ*, fragments of rather dull pleasantries, addressed to young M. Aurelius.

In the extant fragments of these works, and in the later grammarians, other writings of Fronto are mentioned which are entirely lost, and of which we know nothing beyond their titles; all of them were either epistles or orations delivered either in the courts of justice or in the senate.*

160. The historians of this time generally wrote in Greek, and there are only two Latin historians that probably belonged to this period.

1. L. Ampelius, the author of a little work, entitled *Liber Memorialis*, an epitome of all that was thought worth knowing in history, geography, and astronomy, dedicated to one Macrinus. As Trajan is the latest person mentioned in the

* All that remains of the writings of Fronto has been carefully collected and edited by Niebuhr: Berlin, 1816, with a supplement published at Celle, in 1832. A revised edition of the text, by S. A. Naber, was published in 1867 in Teubner's collection.

book, it is probable that it was composed soon after the death of that emperor. The author has made use of Cornelius Nepos and Florus. The fact that he is more minute in his account of the East than in that of Italy, has led to the belief that he was not a native of Italy; but we know absolutely nothing about him. His little work, consisting of fifty short chapters, is generally printed together with the work of L. Annaeus Florus.

2. Granius Licinianus, the author of a history of Rome during its republican period. The work was unknown till about twenty-five years ago, when a manuscript of it was discovered in the British Museum. It was first published at Berlin, in 1857, by C. A. F. Pertz, under the title of *Gaii Grani Liciniani Annalium Quæ Supersunt*. The whole work probably consisted of forty books; the fragments belong to books 26, 28, and 36, and refer to the years B.C. 163 and 78. The author appears not to have carried the history beyond the death of Julius Caesar, though mention is made of the Olympieum at Athens, which was completed by Hadrian. This circumstance, and the affected use of archaisms in his style, render it probable that Licinianus lived in the time of the Antonines. He is very fond of recording what is strange and marvellous. The last editors (Leipzig, 1858, in Teubner's collection), believe that the author was a contemporary of Augustus, and that the present form of the work is only an abridgment made during the period of the Antonines.

161. The poetical productions of this time are most insignificant; but there is a poem, entitled *Pervigilium Veneris*, consisting of ninety-three elegant trochaic lines, which may possibly belong to the reign of Antoninus Pius. Venus is conceived as representing the productive power of Nature, and as honoured in spring and at flower festivals. The style is rhetorical and animated, and sometimes verges on the sentimental. Of the author absolutely nothing is known, and the time of the composition of the poem is purely conjectural.*

162. Learning and grammatical pursuits were becoming more and more popular and fashionable, and learned discussions on grammar were the favourite amusements in public

* It is printed in Wernsdorf's *Poetæ Lat. Minores III.*, p. 463, foll.; and in A. Riese's *Anthologia Lat. I.*, p. 144, foll.

as well as in private society. A man of note in this department is

C. Sulpicius Apollinaris, of Carthage, one of the teachers of Gellius and of the Emperor Pertinax. He published *Questiones Epistolicae*, and metrical arguments of the plays of Plautus and Terence, and of Vergil's *Aeneid*.*

Other grammarians occupied themselves chiefly with teaching and discussing grammatical questions, and do not appear to have published anything, or if they did, their works are lost. By far the most important writer whom we may class among the grammarians is

A. Gellius, whose life seems to have extended from about A.D. 115 to 165. He was educated at Rome, where he had the advantage of the most distinguished teachers. Afterwards he continued his studies at Athens, and having stayed there for at least two years he returned to Rome, where his whole life seems to have been spent in reading and studying, occasionally undertaking the civil duty of a *judex*. At a later period he went back to his beloved Athens, and there began to compose his work *Noctes Atticae*, in twenty books, in which he most diligently and conscientiously collected what he had learned from books and conversations with the learned on the early Latin language and literature, on philosophy, law, natural science, etc. The work must have been composed between A.D. 150 and 160, and is to us of the highest interest as, more than any other work of the time, it gives us an insight into the intellectual condition of the age, although the author himself is a man of a small mind, who amuses himself with small matters, and is not free from all sorts of prejudices and pedantries. Each chapter is, as it were, an independent treatise on some subject which happened to interest him. The order therefore in which matters are discussed is purely accidental, and there is no kind of connection among them. The language is simple, but interspersed with archaisms. His good-natured mediocrity is the characteristic feature of the period in which he lived. He is learned, but lacks wisdom and judgment; industrious, but without the power of producing anything original. The

* These arguments still exist, and are printed in Meyer's *Anthologia Lat.*, p. 73, foll.

eighth book is wanting, and we possess only the table of the contents of the several chapters of which it consisted. What makes the *Noctes Atticae* so valuable to us is the fact that it contains numerous extracts from works which are lost, and that these extracts are all made with scrupulous care, so that they can be relied upon.*

163. The jurists under Antoninus Pius still maintained their pre-eminence, and many of them wrote works which continued to be looked upon as standard treatises down to the latest times. The most celebrated among them are:—

Sext. Julius Africanus, who, about the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius, wrote *Questiones*, in nine books.

Terentius Clemens, the author of a work, in twenty books, *Ad Legem Juliam et Papiam*.

Junius Mauricianus, who also wrote a work *Ad Legem Juliam et Papiam*, and another *De Poenis*, in at least two books.

L. Volusius Marciannus, who wrote sixteen books of *Questiones de Fideicommissis*, and *De Publicis Judiciis*, in fifteen books. Marciannus also composed for his pupil, young M. Aurelius, a little work still extant on the divisions of money, weights, and measures. (It is printed in Hultsch's *Scriptores Metrolog. Romani*).

Ulpianus Marcellus wrote many works, which are often quoted in the *Digesta*; but none of these jurists is of greater importance to us than *Gaius*. He seems to have been a native of Asia Minor, but was at Rome as early as the time of Hadrian, and devoted himself exclusively to teaching and writing on legal subjects. Of his life nothing is known, and the time in which he lived has been the subject of much controversy, for while some have looked upon him as a contemporary of Augustus, others have placed him as late as Theodosius, Arcadius, or even Justinian. However, it is now generally admitted that he lived in the time of Antoninus Pius, that he witnessed the accession of M. Aurelius, and that therefore he was the oldest of the five jurists whose works, by a law of Valentinian, in A.D. 426, were to be re-

* The principal edition of Gellius is that of Gronovius: Leyden, 1706, reprinted at Leipzig, in 1762. The latest edition is that of M. Hertz: Leipzig, 1853, in 2 vols.

garded as legal authorities. Among the many works composed by Gaius, the most important are his *Institutionum Commentarii Quattuor*, or an introduction to the study of the Roman law. It contains a well-arranged summary of the civil law, treating of the family relations, of *res* and *obligationes*, and *actiones*. Its usefulness was soon acknowledged; it became the text-book in all the law schools of the empire, and when Justinian ordered his commission of jurists to draw up the new Institutes, those of Gaius were used as a model, and many parts of it were incorporated with the Institutes of Justinian. Before that time Gaius' work had been abridged and mutilated, and now it fell into disuse, so that it was known only from quotations in other works. For many centuries the Institutes of Gaius had been believed to be lost, when, in 1815, Niebuhr, by a fortunate accident, discovered the original work at Verona, in a palimpsest manuscript. Nearly the whole of it was made legible; and in 1820 the first edition was published at Berlin, by Göschen and Hollweg. There are a few gaps in the work, but they are not of much consequence. To the student of Roman law the work is of the highest importance; its style is simple and clear, and altogether free from the rhetorical affectations of the time.*

Gaius wrote numerous other works, the titles of which are known from the references made to them in the Pandects.

164. Philosophical pursuits, especially the study of the Stoics, became fashionable at Rome when young M. Aurelius displayed his great partiality for it; but the Stoicism of the time was something very different from what it had been originally. It had more and more become a sort of practical wisdom, without any originality of thought, and its professors seem to have confined themselves to teaching and lecturing, and we hear of no eminent writers, though many are spoken of as distinguished teachers.

165. The reign of M. Aurelius, (from A.D. 161 to 180), might have been a bright period in Roman literature, but nothing could check its downward course. The emperor

* The best and most complete edition of Gaius is that of C. Lachmann: Berlin, 1842; which also contains a fragment of an anonymous jurist *De jure fisci*, contained in the same palimpsest as Gaius.

himself, who had been educated by Fronto, for a time followed the advice of his tutor, made extracts from the books recommended to him, collected synonyms, sentences and rhetorical figures, and even made verses; but when he discovered the hollowness and uselessness of such occupations, he allowed himself, to the great vexation of Fronto, to be persuaded by Junius Rusticus to devote himself wholly to the Stoic philosophy. Besides his letters to Fronto, and a few others, we possess, by M. Aurelius, twelve books of "Meditations," written in Greek, as was the custom with most of the philosophers of the time. These meditations show the emperor to have been one of the noblest characters that ever adorned a throne. L. Verus, his colleague, who is praised by Fronto for his eloquence, wished his exploits in the East to be immortalised by his tutor. Literature during this time appears to have enjoyed the most perfect freedom, for it is related that the author of a *mimus* attacked the emperor on the stage with impunity; but it was still under the unhappy influence of Fronto. Many men are, indeed, mentioned by this rhetorician as great orators at the time, but none of them produced any work worth mentioning, except, perhaps, Julius Titianus, who wrote fictitious epistles, under the name of illustrious women. Whether he is the same as the Titianus who wrote on geography, on Ætna, on rhetoric, agriculture, and fables, cannot be determined with certainty, as none of these works are extant.

166. Poetical productions continued to be as scanty and as poor as before. The only writer of importance during this period—and he was an African—is L. Apuleius, commonly called *Apuleius Platonicus*, of Madaura, on the frontier between Numidia and Gaetulia. The circumstances of his life are known to us only through one of his own speeches, *De Magia*. According to this he must have been born between A.D. 125 and 130, and belonged to a wealthy and respected family. He spent his early years at Carthage, probably for the sake of his education. Thence he went to Athens, where he studied poetry, music, philosophy, rhetoric, and geometry. Afterwards he travelled much in the East, during which time he spent a great part of his fortune. On his return he took up his residence at Rome, supporting him-

self for some time by acting as a pleader in the courts of law. How long he continued this practice is not known; at all events he returned to his native place, and on one occasion when he was travelling from Madaura to Alexandria he was taken ill at Cæa. He there became acquainted with a wealthy lady, Æmilia Pudentilla, the widow of one Sicinius Amicus, by whom she had two sons; Pontianus, the elder of the two, had known Apuleius at Athens, and the acquaintance was of course renewed. The lady, although she had been a widow for thirteen years and had now reached the age of forty, for reasons of health wished to marry again, and Apuleius was persuaded by Pontianus to make her his wife, although she was old enough to be his mother. This marriage brought him into trouble: for the relations of her former husband were highly disgusted with it; and when, soon afterwards, Pontianus died at Carthage, they brought an action against Apuleius, alleging that he had caused the death of the young man, although it was well known that he had always treated his step-sons with extreme liberality. As the relations failed in this action, Sicinius Æmilianus, an uncle of Pontianus, and Herennius Rufinus, the father-in-law of Pontianus, brought against Apuleius the charge of sorcery, asserting that he had won the affections of Pudentilla by sorcery, an offence punishable by death. The trial took place in the reign of Antoninus, consequently before A.D. 161, and undoubtedly ended in his acquittal. The speech which he delivered in his defence he afterwards elaborated more fully, and published under the title of *Apologia*, or *Pro se apud Claudium Maximum proconsulem de magia liber*. However, the whole affair seems to have disgusted him with Cæa, for he went back to Carthage, where he acquired great celebrity by his speeches and declamations. He does not appear ever to have held any public office, except some of a priestly character. No further details of his life are known, nor have we any information about the time of his death. In aftertimes the account of his trial for sorcery seems to have created the belief that he was actually a sorcerer.

Apuleius, with his extraordinary facility of composition, attempted every variety of subjects in prose and in verse, in Greek as well as in Latin, and he himself somewhat

boastingly gives us a catalogue of his performances: poems of every kind, epic, lyric; comedy, tragedy, satire, ludicra, various histories, orations, philosophy, and dialogues. At the time of his trial he had already delivered speeches, and published them as well as poetry, such as verses on tooth-powder, amatory verses, a hymn to Æsculapius, in both Latin and Greek. He afterwards wrote a work called *Hermagoras*, perhaps a novel of the same kind as the *Metamorphoses*, and treatises on arithmetic, music, astronomy, medicine, trees, two books of proverbs, and a free translation of Plato's *Phædo*; but, with the exception of a few fragments, these works are all lost. The following are either wholly or partially preserved:—

1. *Apologia*, or *De magia liber*, which has already been mentioned. As Apuleius had no difficulty in defending himself against the charge of sorcery, he avails himself of the opportunity of displaying his wit and learning; and considering that he had great temptation to show his rhetorical skill, the style is comparatively simple and easy.

2. *Florida*, in four books, containing twenty-three extracts from speeches and declamations, most of which were delivered at Carthage in the theatre, or before the proconsul Severianus. The extracts refer to philosophy, history, and natural science, the last of which subjects appears to have had great attraction for Apuleius. He seems to have understood the art of seasoning his speeches by introducing interesting stories.

3. *De Deo Socratis* is a very diffuse explanation of Plato's doctrine about the three kinds of beings, gods, men, and demons, in which he combats some of the doctrines of the Epicureans.

4. *De Dogmate Platonis libri III.*—The first book treats of the life of Plato and his *Philosophia Naturalis*; the second of his ethics, or *Philosophia Moralis*. The third, which is inscribed *De Philosophia Rationali sive πρὶ ἰσχυρίων*, treats of logic, not the logic of Plato, but rather the logic of Aristotle, in a form somewhat dry and different from the usual style of Apuleius, whence some critics maintain that it was not written by him, but was added by some writer of the third or fourth century.

5. *De Mundo*, in one book, addressed to Faustinus, is based, according to the introduction, on a Greek work of Theophrastus, but also contains much that is specifically Roman.

6. *Metamorphoseon libri XI.*—This is Apuleius' most celebrated work. It is a satirical novel, containing the history of a young Greek, Lucius of Patrae, whose curiosity to learn something of the magic arts leads him to visit Thessaly, where, by some mistake, he is metamorphosed into an ass, but retains his consciousness as a man. He relates with great humour his experiences as an ass, until the time when he recovered his human form. The subject is taken entirely from Lucian's Lucius, with the exception of the conclusion, which is Apuleius' own. The whole tale is interspersed with stories of ghosts, robbers, and the like, and the well known history of Amor and Psyche forms a most delightful episode. The numerous descriptions of men and manners render the story particularly interesting to us. The style, which has a great deal of the African Latinity, is often strained and rhetorical, but often also clear and animated. This novel enjoyed great celebrity in later times, and seems to have been popularly known by the name of the Golden Ass (*Asinus Aureus*).

Lastly, we possess, under the name of Apuleius, a work entitled *Æsculapius sive dialogus Hermetis Trismegisti*. This dialogue between Æsculapius and Hermes Trismegistus treats of God, the world, and man; it is a new Platonic production of no value, containing traces of a considerable influence of Christianity, and can scarcely be regarded as a work of Apuleius.

All his genuine works show that he was a man of great talent and extensive knowledge; but at the same time that he was extremely vain, and under the influence of the faulty taste of his age and country. His thirst for knowledge in every department seems to have been insatiable; but the same thirst also led him to pursue the marvellous and mysterious, whence, with an unusually clear understanding, we find combined in him an amount of superstition which is scarcely credible. He is fond of making a show of his religious feelings; and although he regards the deities of the

different nations only as different names of one and the same god, he is nevertheless hostile to Christianity. His real faith is that of Platonism, mixed up with Pythagorean and other mystic elements. He had a great command of language, but still Latin is to him evidently an acquired tongue, which he uses without any feeling for its beauties and niceties, when, e.g., he employs words and phrases from Plautus in his serious discourses. His style is, moreover, very diffuse, and overladen with all manner of rhetorical artifices.*

167. Jurisprudence continued its brilliant career under M. Aurelius, under whom flourished the illustrious *Q. Cerridius Scaevola*, the teacher of Papinian and the author of *Digesta*, in forty books, which were of great use to the compilers of the Pandects under Justinian. A contemporary of his, *Papirius Justus*, made a collection of imperial constitutions; and another, *Paternus*, who was Latin secretary to M. Aurelius, wrote a work *De Re Militari*, in four books, which is now lost, but is often referred to by Vegetius, a later writer on the same subject.

168. Commodus, the unworthy son of M. Aurelius, who reigned from A.D. 180 to 192, had no taste for anything good, noble, or intellectual, and the brief reigns of Pertinax and Didius Julianus (A.D. 193) could exercise no influence upon literature; but the active and able Septimius Severus (from A.D. 193 to 211) at least appreciated its value, and himself wrote a history of his own public and private life, in which, among other things, he defended himself against the charge of cruelty. Under him poetry still remained mute, but jurisprudence continued its brilliant career, and Christianity had its first public defenders.

The great jurist, *Æmilius Papinianus*, was a friend of Septimius Severus, and under him held the office of præfectus pretorio; he was not only an honourable and faithful servant of his sovereign, but a man of real genius in his own department, and by his writings gained and maintained the admiration of many generations of jurists. The most important

* The chief edition of Apuleius is that of Oudendorp: Leyden, 1786-1823, in 3 vols. A more recent edition, which also contains the remaining fragments of the lost works, is that of G. F. H. Hildebrand: Leipzig, 1842, in 2 vols.

among his works were *Quæstiones*, in thirty-seven books, and *Responsa*, in nineteen books, works which were much used in the compilations made under Justinian. Severus recommended to his care his two sons, Geta and Caracalla; but soon after his accession Caracalla ordered the friend of his father to be murdered, because he preserved his loyalty to Geta.

Among other jurists of the time, *Callistratus*, a native of Greece, wrote *De Jure Fisci*, in four books, *Quæstiones*, in two books, and several other legal works; *A. Claudius Tryphonius* wrote notes on *Scævola's Digesta*, and *Disputationes*, in twenty-one books; *Arrius Menander*, a Greek, and a member of the imperial council, wrote on military law, in four books. It may be remarked here that *Tertullian*, the great Christian apologist, before his conversion, wrote several works on law, such as *Quæstiones*, in eight books, and a *Liber de castrensi peculio*; and even in his polemical works on theology his cleverness as a lawyer is conspicuous everywhere.

169. The earliest Christian work in Latin that has come down to our time is a dialogue of *M. Minucius Felix*, entitled *Octavius*. Felix was a distinguished Roman advocate, and composed his work in the reign of Septimius Severus. The dialogue, resembling in form the dialogues of Cicero, is carried on by Felix himself (under the name of Marcus), *Cæcilius Natalis*, and *Octavius Januarius*. The scene is on the sea-coast, near Ostia, and the time apparently the reign of *M. Aurelius*. *Cæcilius* attacks the Christians as apostates from the religion of their fathers, and as offending against morality and good breeding. *Octavius*, on the other hand, defends them, and maintains that Christianity is far superior to polytheism, whose faults and evil consequences he severely chastises. His opponent in the end confesses that on the main points he is convinced, although some doubts still remain in his mind. It is very remarkable that, notwithstanding the violent opposition to the Christians at the time, the dialogue shows no spirit of animosity or bitterness; it further gives us a clear idea of the notions entertained about Christianity by the educated among the converts, who, being repulsed by the immoralities of polytheism, were deeply impressed and attracted by the idea of one god. On this last point the

speaker becomes truly eloquent and sublime, and is full of admiration of the pride and joy with which Christians meet their death. The style of the work is sometimes rhetorical, but, on the whole, much more fresh and natural than the usual style of the time.*

170. *Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus* is reported to have died A.D. 217, at the advanced age of eighty, whence he must have been born about A.D. 137. He was a native of Carthage, and the son of a Roman centurion. It has already been observed that he was a lawyer by profession, and that before his conversion to Christianity he wrote some important works on law. Afterwards he became a presbyter of the Roman church, and remained so till middle age; but then, being much annoyed by the Roman clergy, he joined the Montanists, a sect which had arisen in Phrygia, and was remarkable for its ecstatic visions and ideas about the approaching end of all things; their fantastic prophecies and ascetic mode of life were quite in harmony with his enthusiastic and excitable nature, and he became their champion in the western parts of the empire, though his strong and keen intellect somewhat modified their extravagant ideas.

Tertullian is a writer full of originality, imagination, and ready wit; and when under the influence of passion his eloquence is often sublime. Polemics is his element, whence most of his numerous writings are polemical and apologetic; they are throughout full of thought, passionate, and acute, and his language is energetic and concise, even to obscurity. His principal work, entitled *Apologeticum*, composed A.D. 199, is a defence of Christianity, addressed to the rulers (*antistites*) of the Roman people. The main charges against the Christians were that they neglected the worship of the gods and the emperor, and that they were indifferent, and even hostile, to the good of the state. The attacks upon his enemies are sharp and bitter, his style is rhetorical, but original, and strongly savours of the African Latinity.

His other writings, many of which are lost, are full of information about the manners of the time and about Roman

* The best editions of Minucius Felix are those of J. Gronovius: Leyden, 1709; and Rotterdam, 1743; and that of C. de Muralt: Zürich, 1837.

antiquities in general, and deserve to be studied much more than they are. Those still extant are *De idololatria*, *De Spectaculis*, *De pallio*, *Ad nationes*, and a few others.*

171. Among grammarians the following seem to belong to this period:—

1. *Helenius Acron*, who wrote commentaries on Terence, Horace, and apparently also on Persius, which are often referred to, but are now lost. The scholia on Horace, which we possess under his name, are at best only extracts from those of Acron himself, and were made in the fourth or fifth century.

2. *Pomponius Porphyrio*, who likewise wrote scholia on Horace, which are still extant, and are printed in some of the editions of the poet.

3. *Dositheus*, the author of a grammar, with exercises in Latin and Greek, which still exists, and is printed in Keil's collection of the Latin grammarians. His knowledge of Greek seems to have been very poor.

4. *Serenus Sammonicus* is reported to have possessed a library consisting of 62,000 books, and to have written several learned works, but none of them has come down to us.

5. *Pompeius Festus*, who abridged the work of Verrius Flaccus (see p. 125), likewise seems to have lived about this time.

C. LATIN LITERATURE DURING THE THIRD CENTURY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CARACALLA (A.D. 211) TO THE DEATH OF
DIOCLETIAN (A.D. 305).

172. During this period the general decline in all departments continued, and in the end drew even jurisprudence into its vortex. There was more intellectual activity in the provinces than in Italy, and Latin was written by Orientals as well as by Africans, Gauls, and Spaniards, in consequence of which the language degenerated and was filled with barbarisms. History dwindled down to mere biographies of the emperors, and even these in the end became pure panegyrics. The misfortunes of the empire, which had to resist invasions

* A good edition of the works of Tertullian is that of Semler: Halle, 1770, in 6 vols. They are also printed in the collections of the Latin Ecclesiastical Fathers.

from all quarters, exercised their depressing influence upon all classes, and nothing great was produced. The Christian apologists alone showed spirit and enthusiasm in the defence of the new religion, both in prose and in verse, though they too could not escape from the prevailing bad taste in all matters of form.

The most distinguished jurists of this period were:—

1. *Domitius Ulpianus*, a native of Tyre, who, under Caracalla and Alexander Severus, held the office of *præfectus prætorio*, and exercised unbounded influence; but, in A.D. 228, he was murdered by the prætorians, because he attempted to restore military discipline among them. As a writer on law Ulpian is inferior to Papinian, for his writings, and still more those of his contemporary, Paulus, are compilations and expositions of principles rather than original productions. He began his career as an author under Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211); but the period of his greatest activity belongs to the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217) and his successors. The most important among his numerous works are—*Ad Edictum*, in eighty-three books, and *Ad Sabinum*, in fifty-one books. Very many passages of these and other lost works are quoted in the Pandects, of which, in fact, they form the main basis. His *Regularum liber Singularis* and his *Institutiones*, in two books, are still extant, though with many gaps, and some parts only in an abridged form. Other parts of these works are known from being quoted in the Pandects. In the *Regularum liber* Ulpian principally follows the plan and arrangement of Gaius.*

2. *Julius Paulus* was likewise *præfectus prætorio* under Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235), and a man of great influence. He seems to have survived Ulpian, to whom he is much inferior in talent and in the power of writing. Both these men, in many instances, wrote upon the same subjects; but Paulus published a great many monographs on special topics. His most comprehensive work was his *Ad Edictum*, in eighty books, and his most popular one his *Sententie*, in

* It is printed in Gneist's *Institutionum et Regularum Juris Romani Syntagma*, p. 299, foll. The remains of the *Institutiones* are collected in Huschke's *Jurisprudentia Antejustin.*, p. 225, foll.

five books, of which excerpts are still extant and printed in the work of Gneist, above referred to, p. 326, foll. Extracts from the rest of his numerous works form about the sixth part of the Pandects of Justinian.

Other jurists of this period were *Ælius Marcianus*, *Emilius Macer*, and *Herennius Modestinus*, who wrote *Excusationum, libri VI.* in Greek, and several other works in Latin, from which many extracts occur in the Pandects. In consequence of the division of the empire under Diocletian it became necessary to collect the imperial constitutions from the time of Hadrian, which was done by the jurist *Gregorius* (*Codex Gregorianus*), whose work was afterwards supplemented. This codification of the laws seems to have prevented any further development of jurisprudence by individual jurists.

173. The most eminent among the grammarians of the third century are—

1. *Julius Romanus*, who wrote a grammatical work apparently under the title *ἀφορμαί*, of which extensive use is made in the existing work of Charisius, who, in fact, has copied whole passages from it. The parts of it which are specially referred to treat of analogy, of adverbs, and prepositions.

2. *Censorinus*, who is referred to as a very learned author of grammatical works, and among them of one on accents. Under his name there has been transmitted to us a book, *De Die Natali*, addressed to a wealthy friend, Q. Cærellius, and written A.D. 238. The book is a birthday present, and treats of birth, and everything that can by any means be connected with it, such as music, the different stages of human life, the division of time, etc. The conclusion of the book is wanting. The writer tries to show off his learning by naming a great number of Greek and Latin works, many of which he probably never saw. Still, however, the book contains information on some points that cannot be obtained elsewhere. His chief authority appears to have been the *Præta* of Suetonius.*

3. *Atilius Fortunatianus*, who wrote a work on metres, in

* There are two good editions of his work, one by O. Jahn: Berlin, 1843; and the other by Hultsch: Leipzig, 1837.

which, on the whole, he followed Cæsius Bassus; but whether he really belonged to this period is uncertain.*

174. It has already been stated that history was written at this time, at least in Latin, only in the form of biographies, after the fashion of Suetonius. Such was the work of *Marius Maximus*, who wrote very verbose but truthful biographies of the emperors, from Nerva to Elagabalus. This work seems to have been the chief source from which the *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ* derived their information about those emperors. Another, *Junius Cordus*, published lives of less known emperors, from Claudius Albinus to Maximus and Balbinus, in which he entered into the minutest details. Other historians of the same kind are mentioned by the *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ*, but none of their works have come down to us.

175. The most eminent among the Christian writers during the early part of the third century were—

1. *Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus*, a native of Africa, who was at first a celebrated teacher of rhetoric, but on the advice of the presbyter Cæcilius he became a Christian, gave all his property to the poor, and not long after became himself a presbyter, and ultimately Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 248. He suffered martyrdom under the Emperors Valerian and Gallienus, A.D. 258. Cyprian was a great admirer of Tertullian, but lacked his originality, wit, and versatility; Cyprian's style, however, is clearer, more calm and dispassionate, though not quite free from rhetorical embellishments. His frequent quotations from the Scriptures give to his writings a more specific Christian character, and as he kept carefully aloof from heresies, his works for a long time enjoyed great popularity and authority in the church. His writings are partly apologetic, and often mere repetitions of the arguments of Tertullian, and partly exhortations to the Christians. His eighty-one epistles throw much light upon the history of this time. The same is the case with his minutes of the synod held at Carthage, in A.D. 256: *De hæreticis baptizandis*.†

* The remains of his work are printed in Putschius, *Gram. Lat.*, p. 2660, foll., and in Gaisford's *Scriptores Lat. Rei Metricæ*, p. 312, foll.

† The best edition of Cyprian is that by W. Hartel: Wien, 1868-70, in 2 vols.

2. **Novatianus**, a presbyter of Rome, who lived about the same time as Cyprian, likewise wrote a great many treatises, some of which, however, were mere abridgments of Tertullian. Extant are his books *De Trinitate* and *De Cibis Judeorum Epistola*, both of which are often printed together with the works of Tertullian and Cyprian.*

176. Writers of verses, for they scarcely deserve the name of poets, are not uncommon at this time; some of them are most scrupulous in the correctness of their metres, while others set all the rules of metre and prosody at defiance. The following are the best known among them:—

1. **Alfius Avitus**, who wrote, apparently, a history of Rome in iambic dimetres, and in several books, some lines of which are still extant (see Meyer, *Anthologia Lat.* I., p. 45).

2. **Marianus**, who wrote *Lupercalia* in the same metre.

3. **Septimius Serenus**, a lyric poet, who wrote a poem called *Opuscula ruralia*, in several books, of which we still possess the beginning, as well as fragments from another poem, called *Falisca*, after an estate in the Faliscan territory. His versification is elegant and his style graceful.†

3. **Q. Serenus Sammonicus**, the author of a didactic poem, *De medicina præcepta*, in 1115 hexameter lines, which is still extant, but somewhat mutilated at the end. It describes the remedies for several diseases, and is based upon the works of Pliny, Discorides, and others. Whether the author of this poem is the celebrated physician of the same name, who lived in the time of Severus and Caracalla, and was put to death by the latter, or his son, who taught the younger Gordian, is uncertain, though it is more likely to be the production of the latter, for the author of the poem betrays very little special knowledge, but all the more superstition. The language is borrowed partly from Vergil and partly from Lucretius; but the poem seems to have been written as a playful amusement by one to whom verse-making was easy, rather than as a serious work by a real physician.‡

* Separate editions by E. Welchman: Oxford, 1724; and by Jackson: London, 1728.

† The extant fragments of these poems are collected in Wernsdorf's *Poeta Lat. Minores*, II., p. 279, foll.

‡ It is printed in several collections of medical writers, and in Burmann's *Poeta Lat. Min.*, II., p. 185, foll.

4. **M. Antonius Gordianus** (emperor from A.D. 239 to 244) composed an epic poem in imitation of Vergil's *Æneid*, called *Antoninias*, in thirty books, in which he described the public and private life of the Antonines, whose praise he also wrote in prose. No remains of these works now exist.

5. **Commodianus**, a Christian poet who flourished during the first half of the third century, was a native of Gaza, in Syria. He had been a pagan, and after his conversion he wrote verses full of Christian zeal against the pagans. We have by him two poems in hexameters, in which every rule of prosody and metre is violated; the lines are constructed only by the ear, and according to the vulgar mode of pronunciation. One of them is entitled *Instructiones*, composed about A.D. 238, and, in addition to its metrical irregularities, is adorned with acrostics. The second poem, written about ten years later, and called *Carmen apologeticum adversus Judæos et gentes*, is not quite as faulty and irregular as the earlier production.*

177. In the reign of Carus and his sons (A.D. 282-284) we meet with the poet **M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus**, of Carthage, who wrote a didactic poem on hunting (*Cynegetica*), of which the first 425 lines, in hexameter, are still extant. From internal evidence it is clear that the poem was written in Africa, and after the death of Carus. The fragment contains many reminiscences of earlier poets, especially of Vergil. The language is rich and skilfully handled. There further exist, under the name of Nemesianus, four eclogues, which in reality are only unsuccessful imitations of four eclogues of Calpurnius. A fragment of a poem, *De aucupio*, which likewise bears the name of Nemesianus, is probably the production of much more recent times.†

178. Maximus, the biographer of emperors (p. 195), appears to have had a large number of followers, whose names we meet with in the *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ*; but beyond the works of this collection nothing has come down to us. The *Historia Augusta* has been transmitted to us as a collec-

* Both poems are printed in Ehler's edition of Minucius Felix, and in J. B. Pitra, *Specilegium Solesmense*: Paris, 1852, I., p. 21, foll.

† The genuine remains of Nemesianus are collected in Wernsdorf's *Poet Lat. Min.*, I., p. 90, foll.

tion of the biographies of six different writers. The first three seem to have written their lives under Diocletian, and the three others at a later time, under Constantius Chlorus or under Constantine. These six writers, of whose lives scarcely anything is known, are—

1. *Ælius Spartianus*, to whom are assigned the lives of Hadrian, *Ælius Verus*, Didius Julianus, Septimius Severus, Pescennius Niger, Caracalla, and Geta.

2. *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, to whom the life of Avidius Cassius is ascribed.

3. *Trebellius Pollio*, whose name stands at the head of the lives of Valerian, of the two Gallieni, of what he absurdly calls the thirty tyrants, and of Claudius.

4. *Flavius Vopiscus*, a Syracusan, who wrote the lives of Aurelian, Tacitus, Florianus, Probus, Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus, Bonosus, Carus, Numerianus, and Carinus. This biographer is distinguished for his love of truth, and for the manner in which he has arranged his materials.

5. *Ælius Lampridius*, the author of the lives of Commodus, Diadumenus, Elagabalus, and Alexander Severus; and

6. *Julius Capitolinus*, to whom are assigned the lives of Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Pertinax, Albinus, Macrinus, the two Maximini, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Balbinus.

We know nothing about the time when this collection of imperial biographies was made, but it may, as some have supposed, have been put together by some scholar at Constantinople; nor is it certain whether the lives ascribed to one author may not belong to another. What is common to them all is the absence of historical talent and judgment; they are, however, desirous to tell the truth where they are not led away by the desire to flatter, as is the case with Trebellius Pollio. Upon their style and language they bestow very little care; but we ought, nevertheless, to be grateful for their preservation, as on many matters they are our sole historical authorities.*

179. Among the rhetoricians and grammarians of the latter

* A good edition of the *Historia Augusta* is that of H. Jordan and F. Eissenhardt: Berlin, 1864, 2 vols.; also H. Peter's edition: Leipzig, 1865, 2 vols.

half of the third century the following deserve to be mentioned:—

1. *Aquila Romanus*, by whom we have a brief and superficial sketch, *De figuris sententiarum et elocutionum*, dedicated to an unknown person, to whom the author promises a better and more complete work as soon as he has the time for it. His language is harsh, careless, and often offends against the rules of correct Latin.*

2. *Juba*, a grammarian of Mauretania, who composed a work on metres, consisting of at least eight books, in which he followed Heliodorus and Cæsius Bassus.†

3. *Marius Plotius Sacerdos*, who must have lived after *Juba*, because he quotes him, also wrote on metre; but in his extant work, entitled *Ars Grammatica*, in three books, the third only treats of metres.‡

4. *C. Julius Solinus*, a grammarian who lived about the same time as *Sacerdos*, is the author of a work called originally *Collectanea Memorabilia*, which is in reality a treatise on geography, in fifty-six chapters, based on the geographical portion of Pliny's Natural History, and in which some historical remarks are interspersed; but what the compiler has added of his own is of little value. His style is rhetorical and affected; but it appears nevertheless to have been very popular, and an edition of it made in the sixth century bears the title *Polyhistor*, under which it still exists.||

5. *Nonius Marcellus*, probably an African, who lived about the end of the third century, compiled a work called *Compendiosa doctrina per litteras*, which is a kind of dictionary in nineteen sections, each treating of a separate subject. The work is put together without any system or order, and the author has made great use of Gellius without mentioning his name; throughout he displays an almost incredible degree of ignorance or carelessness, thus, e.g., in one passage

* The work is printed in Ruhnken's edition of Rutilius Lupus, and in C. Halm's *Rhetores Latini Minores*: Leipzig, 1863.

† What remains of the work has been collected by Ten Brink: Utrecht, 1854.

‡ See Gaisford's *Scriptores Rei Metricæ*, p. 242, foll., and Putschius' *Gram. Lat.*, p. 2623.

|| The best edition of *Solinus* is that of Th. Mommsen: Berlin, 1864.

he speaks of M. Tullius and Cicero as two different persons; but, notwithstanding all this, the work is of considerable importance to us, on account of the many quotations from earlier works which are lost.*

6. Terentianus, a native of Mauretania, who probably lived towards the end of the third century, composed in his later years a brief treatise, *De litteris, syllabis, pedibus, et metris*, in verse, and addressed it to his son, Bassinus, and his son-in-law, Novatus. It consists of four parts or chapters, the last of which has come down to us in an unfinished state. As to the materials of the work, Terentianus seems to be much indebted to his predecessors, Cæsius Bassus and Juba; but the skill with which he manages the various metrical forms is truly astonishing.†

180. Arnobius, a distinguished rhetorician of the time of Diocletian, was born about A.D. 295 at Sicca, in Numidia. He had already acquired great reputation in his profession when he became a convert to Christianity; and to justify this step he wrote the celebrated work, *Adversus nationes* (or *gentes*), in seven books. Otherwise nothing is known about him, except that Lactantius was one of his pupils, which seems to have been at the time when both were still pagans. The work is mainly apologetic, and polemical against the believers in polytheism. The author does not show any deep insight into the spirit of Christianity, and seems to have written his work at the time when the impression made upon his mind by Diocletian's persecution of the Christians was still fresh, that is about A.D. 304 or 305. The style of the work is thoroughly rhetorical, and there is a constant striving after effect and sensation. The language is hard, and full of the peculiarities of the African school. The minuteness with which he enters into the life of the pagans brings to light many things which, but for his work, would be unknown to us.‡

* The best edition is that of F. D. Gerlach, and C. L. Roth: Basle, 1842.

† The best edition is that of C. Lachmann: Berlin, 1836. See also Gaisford's *Hephæstion*, I., p. 215, foll.

‡ The work of Arnobius is printed in some of the collections of the Fathers; but there are also good separate editions by J. C. Orelli: Leipzig, 1816; and G. F. Hildebrand: Halle, 1844.

181. Lactantius Firmianus, probably a native of Italy, was instructed in rhetoric by Arnobius. Having gained some reputation as a rhetorician he was invited to go to Nicomedia, where the Emperor Diocletian was then residing; but what he earned there as a teacher of Latin and rhetoric was so little that he was often in want of the barest necessities of life. In his later years he became a convert to Christianity, and about A.D. 312 we meet him again in Gaul as instructor of Crispus, the son of Constantine. He seems to have died in the same country at an advanced age.

Lactantius is distinguished above all other Christian writers in Latin for the purity and smoothness of his style, which is formed after the best models of the classical age, especially after Cicero, and with such success that he has, not unjustly, been called the Christian Cicero. He must have been a man of a kindly and grateful disposition: for even after his conversion he showed the same attachment to those to whom he owed his mental culture as before; and he speaks with respect of the great pagan writers of former times. This was perhaps the reason why his orthodoxy was not above suspicion. His works were partly rhetorical, partly poetical, but principally theological. No work of the first class has come down to us; but a poetical production, called *Phoenix*, probably written before his conversion, is still extant. It contains a description of the wonderful bird phoenix, and the various stories connected with it, in 170 elegiac lines.* His theological works are—

1. *Institutionum Divinarum libri VII.*, containing a clear apologetic exposition of the Christian doctrines. Christianity is to him the "summa sapientia et justitia." An abridgment of the same work, probably made by the author himself, likewise exists.

2. *De Opificio Dei*, is a popular anthropology from a Christian point of view, in which he describes the mental as well as the physical constitution of man.

3. *De Ira Dei*, a similar treatise on the attribute of anger, which he considers a necessary part of the divine character.

4. *De Mortibus Persecutorum*.—This work is of a more passionate character than the others; it asserts that God,

* It is printed in Wernsdorf's *Poetæ Lat. Min.* III., p. 298, foll.

although permitting the cruelties against Christians, will yet in the end visit the persecutors with condign punishment.*

182. It is very curious that, just before the official establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire, there appeared a number of poems, like the *Phoenix* of Lactantius, which, with a remarkably frank naïveté, deal with ancient pagan myths, and that, too, in forms which are generally correct. Among these productions, all of which seem to belong to the time of Constantius Chorus, and Constantine, we reckon:—

1. A small epic poem, by Reposianus, on the "Union of Mars and Venus," in 182 hexameter lines, printed in Meyer's *Anthol. Lat.*, p. 197.

2. *Votum Fortunæ*, in twenty-three hexameter lines, in which the author dedicates the image of his father to Fortuna (Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 215).

3. Distichs and epigrams, by a poet Pentadius, on Hector, Narcissus, Acis, and other mythical personages (Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 96).

4. A letter of Dido to Æneas, before her suicide, in 150 hexameter lines, by an unknown author (Wernsdorf, *Poetæ Lat. Min. IV.*, p. 439).

5. A speech of Achilles on hearing the trumpet of Diomede, in eighty-nine hexameter lines (Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 228).

183. Rhetoric and declamatory oratory had long been cultivated in all parts of the empire; but, at the time at which we have now arrived, it flourished nowhere so much as in Gaul, where every large town had its own rhetorical school, and where the lively temperament of the people naturally inclined them to such oratorical exhibitions. In fluency and correctness of style the Gallic school far surpassed that of Africa, though in originality of thought it was inferior. Owing to the natural disposition of the Gauls themselves, and the despotic court ceremonial introduced by Diocletian, Gallic oratory displayed itself chiefly in panegyrics on the reigning sovereigns, resembling the famous panegyric of the younger Pliny, but imitating in style the

* The works of Lactantius are generally printed in the collections of the Latin Fathers; the best is that of O. F. Fritsche, in Gersdorf, *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Vol. X.

speeches of Cicero. We still possess a collection of six panegyrics which belong to this and a somewhat later period.

The two most ancient of these laudations, delivered by unknown speakers at the court of Treves, are in praise of Diocletian and his colleagues, and belong to the years 289 and 291. The first was delivered on the 21st of April, the birthday of Rome; the second on the birthday of Maximian; in it the speaker dwells most on the emperor's "pietas" and "felicitas."

The four other panegyrics are the productions of the rhetorician *Eumenius* of Augustodunum (Autun), who lived about A.D. 300, and aims at the roundness and fulness of Cicero's style. His laudations belong to the years 296, 297, 310, and 311. In the first, which was delivered before the præses of the province, the orator prays for the restoration of the schools in his native city; in the last the orator thanks the emperor in the name of the city for the remission of taxes and other acts of kindness. The two intermediate panegyrics are laudations of Constantius Chlorus and his son, the Emperor Constantine.*

D. LATIN LITERATURE DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY AFTER CHRIST.

(FROM THE DEATH OF DIOCLETIAN, A.D. 305, TO THE PERMANENT
DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE, A.D. 395).

184. The two great events in Roman history during this period are the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire, and the raising of Byzantium, under the name of Constantinople, to the rank of the capital of the eastern part of the empire. Rome preserved her ancient institutions longer than it would have been possible if her connection with the East had not thus been dissolved; and Paganism and Christianity, down to the end of the fourth century, existed at Rome side by side, and on terms of equality with each other. Those who still adhered to their ancient belief clung to it with great tenacity, and endeavoured to show that the new

* These panegyrics have been well edited by J. H. Arntzen: Utrecht, 1790-1795, in 2 vols., which were reprinted by Valpy: London, 1838.

doctrines were virtually contained in their old religion; but it had lost its hold on the popular mind; the decay which had commenced long before went on irresistibly, and Christianity gained the victory; but this very victory brought to light dissensions and divisions among the Christians themselves, which led to persecutions of one sect by another. The intellectual life of the time, however, showed great vigour in these feuds, and Christianity during this century produced its greatest and ablest champions; but we still look in vain for originality in the literary productions, for all are based upon the works of earlier times, either commenting upon them or epitomising them. Rhetoric still continued to be cultivated very generally, but produced nothing really great; grammarians follow in the footsteps of their predecessors from whom they copy and plagiarise; history is written only in epitomes and abridgments of earlier works; poetry delights in artificial trifles and devices, and the Christian poets, finding it difficult to unite the ancient forms with their new ideas, gradually fell into the tone of the popular language, and it is then that we meet with the first attempts at rhyming.

185. The Emperor *Constantine* himself (from A.D. 306 to 337) was not without literary taste, and wrote in Latin memoirs of his own life, of which a few fragments still exist; but he patronised learning and literature only for his own dynastic and ambitious purposes, and gladly listened to the panegyrics of rhetoricians who extolled his virtues and exploits. Two of such panegyrics, by *Eumenius*, have already been noticed; but some others also are still extant, one which was delivered by an anonymous rhetorician, in A.D. 313, and another by *Nazarius*, in A.D. 321. *C. Julius Victor* occurs as a writer on rhetoric in the time of Constantine, and his *Ars Rhetorica* is still extant, and printed in C. Halm's *Rhetores Lat. Minores*, p. 371, foll.

186. During the first half of the fourth century we meet with two Christian poets.

1. *Publilius Porphyrius Optatianus*, who, in A.D. 328, sent to Constantine a volume of laudatory poems, and thereby obtained his recall from exile. These poems are still extant, as is also the emperor's acknowledgment, and the letter in

which Optatianus thanked him. These poems, twenty-six in number, are remarkable only for their fanciful tricks and devices; they consist mostly of from twenty to forty hexameter lines, each containing an equal number of letters, and the poems are made to form a square, a syrinx, or an organ.*

2. *C. Vettius Aquilius Juvencus*, a Spanish presbyter, who translated the four gospels into Latin hexameter verse; and composed some other poems on the sacraments in the same metre. He also appears to have translated, if not the whole, at least many parts of the Old Testament in the same manner. In his phraseology he imitates Vergil, but takes great liberties with the prosody. A complete edition of his remains, many of which have only been discovered quite recently, does not yet exist.

187. The last jurists whose works are quoted in the *Digesta* of Justinian belong to the reign of Constantine; but they, like other writers, were generally occupied with making collections or epitomes of works of their predecessors. They are:—

1. *Aurelius Arcadius Charistius*, who wrote monographs, *De Officio Praefecti Pratorio*, *De Muneribus Civilibus*, and *De Testibus*.

2. *Hermogenianus*, who wrote *Epitomæ Juris*, that is, a collection of imperial constitutions, in three parts, extending from A.D. 291 to 365. This collection was known at the time by the name of *Codex Hermogenianus*, but nothing now remains of it, except what is quoted in the *Codex* of Justinian.

To the same time also belongs a work now known under the name of *Fragmenta Vaticana*, a collection of legal authorities similar to that afterwards made by the order of Justinian. It contained imperial constitutions and extracts from the works of earlier jurists, and seems to have been drawn up for private use, as it is nowhere referred to. We now possess only a small portion of it, which was discovered, in 1821, by A. Mai, in a palimpsest, in the Vatican library, whence the name.†

188. The sphere of grammatical studies had become more

* They are printed in Wernsdorf, *Poetæ Lat. Min.* II., p. 365, foll.; see also Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.*, p. 94, foll.

† It has since been published several times, most recently in Huschke's *Jurisprudentiæ Antejustinianæ quæ supersunt*, p. 591, foll.

and more narrowed to the mere wants of the schoolroom; historical investigation and even the collecting of learned materials were neglected. *Cominianus*, who is called a most eloquent grammarian, seems to have written a grammar of this humble kind, which itself is one of the principal authorities referred to by *Charisius*. *Albinus* wrote on metres in hexameter verse, in the manner of *Terentianus*; two hexameter lines only are extant of the work. *Asmonius*, a person who, to judge from his name, was perhaps of Syrian origin, likewise wrote on metres; and *Euanthius*, who is called a most erudite grammarian, wrote a commentary on Terence, and died at Constantinople, A.D. 361.

142 189. *Firmicus Maternus*, who lived in the reign of Constantine, is the author of a very remarkable work, called *Matheseos libri*, in eight books. Maternus, a native of Sicily, was originally a pleader in law courts, but having become disgusted with his profession, he turned his attention to the study of astrology. The work he afterwards wrote on that subject is dedicated to the proconsul Mavortius Julianus, and was not completed till A.D. 354. It contains a complete system of astrology, in accordance with the mystic views of the Neo-Platonists. Maternus, under the influence of superstition, is thoroughly in earnest in his work; he tries to give to his science an ethical basis, and propounds his doctrines with a kind of priestly solemnity. He is evidently a pagan, although he sometimes speaks as if he were a believer in one God.*

About the same time that *Firmicus Maternus* wrote his book on astrology, a Christian of the same name composed a work, *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, addressed to Constantine's sons, *Constantius* and *Constans*, whom he passionately exhorts to destroy paganism. The character of this work is so different from that of the astrologer, and the sentiments they contain are so diametrically opposed, that the two works cannot possibly be regarded as the productions of the same man; but it is possible that they may have been members of the same family. The tone of the Christian work is that common to all the Christian apologetic writers, but

* The latest edition of this work is that of N. Pruckner: Basel, 1533 and 1551.

he enters more minutely into the views of the eastern pagans than his predecessors had done. He also refers more frequently to passages of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament; he quotes these passages in a Latin translation, which seems to have been made in Africa, in the course of the second century after Christ. The style is very rhetorical and pathetic, and full of exclamations. Some leaves of the work are wanting.*

190. The prevailing philosophy of this period is that of the Neo-Platonists, which had its chief seat at Athens, but had its representatives also at Rome, such as the astrologer Maternus. Its professors regarded Neo-Platonism as the best means to counteract Christianity. The Romans generally were too sober-minded to embrace such fanciful views, and remained in philosophy eclectics as they had been ever since the days of Cicero. Besides Maternus, the only Neo-Platonic philosopher we know of at Rome was C. Marius Victorinus, who lived about the middle of the fourth century. He was a native of Africa, and a distinguished rhetorician and grammarian, taught at Rome, and at a very advanced age became a Christian. He seems to have been a man of high mental culture, and in his earlier years wrote on rhetoric, philosophy, and metres; but after his conversion he composed commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul, and other works in defence of the orthodox faith against the Arians and Manicheans. Under his name we still possess

1. *Ars Grammatica, De Orthographia et de Metrica Ratione*. — In the part treating of metres he follows the Greek Hephæstion, Varro, and Cæsius Bassus.†

2. There are three trivial treatises which have come down to us under his name, and are in a very corrupt state, viz., *De re Grammatica, De Carmine Heroico*, and *De Ratione metrorum* (printed in Putschius' *Gram. Lat.*, p. 1937, foll.). They seem to be the productions of three different writers, and to have been assigned to Marius Victorinus without sufficient reason.

* The best edition of this work is that of C. Bursian: Leipzig, 1856; it is also printed in C. Halm's edition of Minucius Felix.

† The best edition of this treatise is that in Gaisford's *Scriptores Rei Metricæ Latini*.

3. A very diffuse and almost useless commentary on Cicero's *Rhetorica*; it may be the work of a Victorinus, but certainly not of the one we are here speaking of. (It is printed in Orelli's edition of Cicero, Vol. V., p. 1, foll.)

His theological writings are to some extent lost, but we still possess his work, *De Trinitate Contra Arium libri IV*. Some other works also bear his name, such as *De Generatione Verbi Divini Opusculum*, *Contra duo Principia Manichæorum et de Vera Carne Christi*, but whether they are really his we cannot determine. (They are printed in the collections of the Fathers.) There are, lastly, some Christian poems which bear his name, but their authorship is equally uncertain. (They are printed in G. Fabricius, *Poetæ Christiani*, and in A. Rivinus, *Sanctæ Reliquiæ Victorinorum*: Gotha, 1652.)

191. **Ælius Donatus**.—Of his life nothing is known beyond the fact that Hieronymus was one of his pupils; he was a learned rhetorician and grammarian, and lived about the middle of the fourth century. He is the author of:—

1. *Ars Grammatica*, which has come down to us in two forms, a shorter one (*Ars Minor*), which treats only of the parts of speech, and a larger one, in three books, both of which are printed in Putschius and Keil's collections of Latin grammarians. In later times the grammar of Donatus appears to have been very popular, although in some respects it is inferior to those of Charisius and Diomedes, for it was repeatedly commented upon and epitomised, as *e.g.*, by Servius, Pompeius, and Julianus.

2. A valuable commentary on Terence's comedies; unfortunately that on the *Heautontimorumenos* is now lost. These commentaries, however, are not preserved in their original form, they appear rather to be a compilation from three different commentaries, the best part of which is no doubt the production of Donatus.

3. A commentary on Vergil, which is lost.

192. To the same period seems to belong **Palladius Rutilius Taurus Æmilianus**, who is known to us only as the author of a work, *De Re Rustica*, in fourteen books, in which, without any pretension to style, he briefly repeats the teachings of his predecessors and of his own experience. The first book contains a general introduction, the next twelve are a

kind of agricultural calendar, giving rules for every month of the year, and the fourteenth book, dedicated to one Pasiophilus, is composed in elegiacs. The work is printed in J. M. Gesner's collection of the *Scriptores Rei Rusticæ*.

193. To this century also belong the different Itineraries, which have come down to us, and are collected in Wesseling's *Vetera Romanorum Itineraria*: Amsterdam, 1735. They are:—

1. Two *Itineraria Antonini*, giving the routes by land and by sea through the provinces of the empire. The first foundation seems to have been laid in the time of Caracalla; but additions were constantly made, until they assumed the form in which we now have them, and which was probably published in the time of Diocletian.

2. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* or *Hierosolymitanum*, which belongs to A.D. 333, and describes the route from Burdigala (Bordeaux), to Jerusalem; it was apparently drawn up for pilgrims to Jerusalem.

3. *Itinerarium Alexandri*.—In A.D. 340, when Constantius was preparing his campaign against Persia, some one drew up the route taken by Alexander the Great in his eastern expedition for the guidance of the emperor. It is mainly based upon the account given by Arrian in his *Anabasis*; but the last part is lost.

There are also two topographical works belonging to this period, viz., two lists of the *Regiones urbis Romæ*, into which Augustus had divided the city. One of these probably belongs to A.D. 334, and the other to A.D. 357. The former generally bears the title of *Notitia Regionum*, the latter that of *Curiosum*. Both have come down to us in a greatly interpolated condition, and have been assigned, without any ostensible reason, to two different authors, P. Victor and Sex. Rufus.

Lastly, we have to notice a work of the very greatest historical importance, viz., a description of the city of Rome, with historical and antiquarian notes, forming a sort of chronicle from the earliest times down to about the middle of the fourth century. Parts of this work were known before, but valuable additions have recently been made from manuscripts found at Vienna and Brussels, and the whole, as far

as it is now known, has been edited by Th. Mommsen, in 1850.

194. History continued to be written in the form of short biographies, or such brief epitomes as satisfied men in an age that had neither time nor inclination to read the great works of former times, which, in consequence, were more and more dispensed with and forgotten. Historical writers of this kind were—

1. **Sex. Aurelius Victor**, who wrote brief biographies of the emperors (*Cæsares*), from Augustus to Constantius. At a later period a sort of biographical history of the republic, from the earliest times to the reign of Augustus, was added, under the title of *De viris illustribus*. In order to make the work still more complete, somebody added at the beginning twenty-three chapters, entitled *Origo populi Romani*, which, however, are of no historical value whatever. The part *De Cæsaribus*, brief as it is, was again epitomised by some later writer, and continued to the death of Theodosius. All these writings are still extant. Aurelius Victor himself, in his *Cæsares*, evidently availed himself of the best authorities; and his biographies become more minute as he approaches his own time. That he was a pagan is clear from the fact that he attaches much importance to prodigies. The part *De viris illustribus* does not limit itself to Roman history, but includes Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and even Cleopatra; it is mainly based on Cornelius Nepos, Florus, and Suetonius, and is composed in plain and simple language. In the epitome of the lives of the emperors some additions are made from other sources than Aurelius Victor, and the style is very poor. The *Origo populi Romani* is a miserable pretentious production of some sciolist of the fifth century.*

2. **Eutropius**, a contemporary of the Emperor Valens (A.D. 364-378), compiled a brief history of Rome, from the earliest times to A.D. 364, under the title *Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ*, dedicated to the Emperor Valens. This little work is composed with great judgment and impartiality, and written in very simple language; in consequence of which it soon became a

* The best edition of these works, which all go by the name of Aurelius Victor, is that of Fr. Schröter: Leipzig, 1829-1831, in 2 vols.

popular school-book, and was even translated into Greek. A considerable portion of this translation, which is not free from misunderstandings, still exists, and is printed in some of the earlier editions of Eutropius.*

3. **Rufus Festus** composed a similar epitome of Roman history, which is still extant, and is likewise dedicated to the Emperor Valens. Its title is *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani*; but it is much poorer than the work of Eutropius, together with which it is often printed.†

4. **Julius Obsequens**, probably belonging to the latter half of the fourth century, is known to us only as the author of a collection of prodigies (*De Prodigis*), recorded in Livy, from the year B.C. 249 to 12. These extracts, however, do not seem to have been taken from the original work, but from some epitome of Livy. The author is of course a pagan, attaching much importance to prodigies. It is often printed together with the work of Valerius Maximus.‡

195. Rhetoric continued to flourish, especially in Gaul, and we know the names of several eminent orators or rhetoricians, but the only speech of the time that has come down to us is one delivered on the 1st of January, A.D. 362, by *Claudius Mamertinus*, who therein thanks the Emperor Julian for having raised him to the consulship. The speech is interesting, because the author gives us a pretty correct description of the character of Julian, both as a man and as a ruler. It is printed in the collections of the panegyrists.

The Emperor Julian himself was distinguished as an orator and an author; but all his works are written in Greek, and cannot be discussed here.

196. The two best known grammarians of this period are Charisius and Diomedes, who, although they wrote independently of each other, yet present such striking resemblances as might lead to the belief that they had copied each other; but a closer examination shows that they both copied the same authorities.

1. **Flavius Sosipater Charisius**, probably a native of

* The best edition of Eutropius is that of Fr. Eissenhardt: Berlin, 1869.

† A good separate edition is that of R. Mecenat: Rome, 1829.

‡ There is a good separate edition of it by O. Jahn: Leipzig, 1853.

Africa, lived as a teacher at Rome, and wrote an *Ars grammatica*, in five books, for the use of his son. The greater part of it is still extant, and from it we see that he made extensive use of the works of Julius Romanus, Cominianus, and Palæmon, and often copies them verbatim. Where his authorities disagree he rarely ventures to express his own opinion. The chief value, therefore, of his grammar consists in those parts which are borrowed from earlier grammarians whose works are lost. What remains of Charisius' grammar is printed in Putschius and in H. Keil's *Gram. Lat.*, Vol. I. Extracts from the work were made in the seventh or eighth century, which likewise still exist, and by means of which some of the gaps in the original may be filled up. They are also contained in the collection of Keil.

2. Diomedes' work is likewise called *Ars grammatica*, in three books, and is dedicated to one Athanasius. Diomedes followed other authorities besides those which Charisius used, e.g., Valerius Probus and Terentianus. Otherwise he stands very much on a line with Charisius, the chief interest consisting in what he, often very carelessly, copied from others (see Keil, *l.c.*).

197. After a long interval we at last, during the latter half of the fourth century, meet with a poet of decided talent, Rufus Festus Avienus; he was proconsul of Africa in A.D. 366, and of Achaia in A.D. 372. His native place was Volsinii, in Etruria; but, when not abroad, he seems to have lived at Rome, where he became the father of a numerous family. He evidently aimed at, and was capable of great things; but the influence of the times was too powerful, and he had to yield to it. His poems are chiefly of a didactic character; but he always relieves the dryness of his subjects by flashes of real genius. His works are—

1. A translation of Aratus' *Phænomena*, in hexameters, in which he tries to surpass his predecessors, partly by greater fidelity to his original, and partly by the insertion of interesting passages from other philosophers and astronomers. The work is printed in the collection of *Aratea*.

2. *Orbis terræ*, or *Descriptio orbis terræ*, in 1494 hexameters, in imitation of the Greek *περιήγησις* of Dionysius, whom, however, he does not name. He has made some

learned additions, and surpasses the original by the liveliness of his descriptions. It is printed in Wernsdorf's *Poet. Lat. Min.* V., p. 527, foll.

3. *Ora Maritima*, in iambic trimeters, of which only a fragment of 703 lines is now extant. In it he describes the coast of the Mediterranean, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Massilia. Even this fragment is disfigured by gaps and many corrupt readings. In the complete work Avienus had described the coasts of the Mediterranean, the Euxine, and the Caspian. The poem was dedicated to one Probus, and many authorities are referred to in it. The style is fluent, but the language is not free from archaisms and strange innovations. It is printed in Wernsdorf, V., p. 1165, foll.

4. Avienus is said to have transcribed the whole of Livy and Vergil in iambs; but not a trace of this stupendous work now exists.

5. A number of small original poems in hexameters, among which there is one addressed to Flavianus Myrmecius, a playful composition, in which he asks his friend to send him some pomegranates (printed in H. Meyer's *Anthol. Lat.*, p. 108).

198. Another poet of considerable merit, who flourished about the same time, is D. Magnus Ausonius. He was the eldest son of an eminent physician at Burdigala (Bordeaux); he must have been born soon after the beginning of the fourth century, and lived until about A.D. 390. At the age of thirty he established himself as a teacher of grammar in his native city; but afterwards devoted himself more to rhetoric. About A.D. 365 the Emperor Valentinian invited him to become the instructor of his son Gratian, whom he afterwards accompanied on his expedition into Germany. Valentinian further raised him to the rank of a comes (count), and made him *quæstor sacri palatii*; Gratian further conferred upon him other honours, and, in A.D. 378, gave him the *præfectura Galliarum*, to which, in the year following, the honour of the consulship was added. At this time he was residing at Treves, where he delivered an oration thanking the emperor for the distinction conferred upon him. This speech, which is still extant, is full of the usual rhetorical flatteries towards Gratian, who was then staying at Sirmium.

Ausonius also enjoyed the esteem of the Emperor Theodosius; but his political career seems to have come to an end with the death of Gratian (A.D. 383), after which he returned to Burdigala, and devoted himself with great zeal to the cultivation of literature. Ausonius was a convert to Christianity; but whether he took this step at the time when he was summoned to the court as tutor to Gratian, or earlier, is unknown. But at all events Christianity does not appear to have taken deep root in him, for he is evidently more at home in the ancient Roman classics than in the Bible, and had not got rid of many of his pagan ideas. Some of his many writings are lost, such as his *Fasti ab urbe condita usque ad suum consulatum*, but four epigrams, which he wrote as introductions to the several parts of this work, still exist; as also his *Apologi Esopi*. The only prose composition that has come down to us is the above-mentioned oration, delivered at Treves; all his other productions are in verse, which, although their poetical merits are small, are excellent in point of form, and contain much valuable information, for Ausonius possessed very extensive knowledge and a powerful memory. He contrives to make his productions attractive, however dry his subject may be. His versification, though on the whole correct, is not free from some serious faults. His extant works are—

1. A collection of 146 epigrams, mostly in the elegiac metre; but some are in hexameters or iambs. A few of them are written in Greek, and others are only translations from the Greek. To these are added the four epigrams which he wrote as introductions to his *Fasti*.

2. *Ephemeris*, a poem on the divisions of the day, in various metres. There is a considerable gap in the middle.

3. *Parentalia*, consisting of thirty poems, mostly in elegiacs, on the deaths of relations; most of them were written after his consulship, and some of them are remarkable for their warmth of feeling.

4. *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium*, consists of thirty-six poems on professors who had taught at Burdigala, nineteen of whom were natives of the place, the remaining seventeen only resided and taught there.

5. *Epitaphia*, twenty-six epitaphs on heroes distinguished

in the Trojan war, to which are added eleven on other persons, partly mythical and partly historical.

6. *Cæsares*, addressed to his son, Hesperius, consists of four lines on each of the first twelve emperors, to be committed to memory; then follow similar *Versus Memoriales* on the subsequent emperors, down to Ausonius' own time, but we possess the verses only down to Elagabalus.

7. *Ordo nobilium urbium*, in fourteen pieces, on seventeen cities, in hexameters, must have been written after the death of Maximus, A.D. 388.

8. *Ludus Septem Sapientum*, a kind of puppet-show, in which, after a brief prologue and a "ludius," the seven wise men come forward and say what they have to say. At the end a call is made for applause, as in a comedy. Solon is the most talkative among them. After these scenes there follow—

9. *Sententiæ* of the same seven wise men, each occupying seven lines in different metres. It is, however, now commonly believed that these *Sententiæ* are not the work of Ausonius.

10. *Idyllia*, a number of twenty poems, mostly in hexameters or elegiacs, and sometimes with an introduction in prose. They are mostly somewhat pedantic fancies, as on the number three, on the twelve labours of Hercules, on the nine Muses and their functions, etc. The most celebrated of these poems is No. 10, entitled *Mosella*, describing a journey up the Moselle as far as Treves. It consists of 403 hexameters, and was written at Treves in A.D. 370. It is in many respects the most interesting of all the productions of Ausonius: it shows great appreciation of the beauties of nature, and contains several episodes, as on the fishes of the Moselle, on fishing, on architects and their works.*

11. *Eclogurium*, verses on all kinds of astronomical subjects, on the names of the stars, the days of the week, Roman festivals, Greek games, etc.

12. *Epistolæ*, twenty-five in number, are mostly playful letters written after Ausonius' consulship; one of them is written in prose, others are entirely in verse, and others

* A good separate edition of this poem was published by E. Böcking: Bonn, 1845.

again only partly so. A few among them belong to an earlier period of the poet's life.*

199. To this period we must probably assign the Latin translation of the strange work of the so-called *Dictys Cretensis*, who was believed to have lived in the time of the Trojan war, and to have kept a diary of the principal events of the war. The Latin translation of this extraordinary production, no doubt a forgery of some Alexandrian grammarian, is ascribed to one Q. Septimius, and contains the history of the Trojan war, from the birth of Paris down to the death of Ulysses. There existed a similar work under the name of *Dares Phrygius*, which was likewise translated into Latin, and purporting to be rendered into Latin by Cornelius Nepos. Both of these works must be regarded as forgeries, but they nevertheless became extremely popular both in the east and in the west, and have furnished to the middle ages the subjects for the legends about the Trojan knights. The two Latin translations are generally printed together.†

Another translation from the Greek likewise belongs to this time, viz., a Latin translation of Josephus' history of the Jewish war, which for a long time was regarded as the production of Hegesippus, but is probably the work of *Ambrosius*, to whom in some MSS. it is actually ascribed. Several passages show that the translation must have been made towards the end of the fourth century. The translator, who was a Christian, has not contented himself with simply rendering the Greek into Latin, but has sometimes omitted passages, sometimes made additions from Latin authors, and has given to the whole the character of a Christian work. It is printed in Bolandii, *Bibl. Patr.* Vol. VII.

There are some other translations from the Greek belonging to this time, but none is of more interest than a Latin version of the Bible made before that of Hieronymus, and in the vulgar dialect of Italy. Portions of it were published in London, in 1868, from an Ashburnham MS. Other fragments, perhaps of the same translation, likewise in the

* The Bipont edition of Ausonius contains all his extant works in 1 vol.

† The best edition of these works is that of A. Dederich: Bonn, 1832 and 1837.

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200. We cannot here discuss the many theological and controversial writings which were called forth about this time by the Arian heresy, but confine our remarks to the productions of Christian poetry. The singing of hymns of praise and thanksgiving had been customary in the church from early times, but the most ancient lyric poetry of this kind is that of *Damasus*, who became Bishop of Rome A.D. 366, and died A.D. 384, at the age of nearly 80. Most of his poems are in hexameter, and in them we already see a strong partiality for rhyme; but prosody is little attended to. It is remarkable that in thirty-seven poems Amasus mentions his own name no less than twenty-seven times. In prose we possess by him only a collection of epistles, which, together with his poetical works, are printed in Gallandi, *Biblioth. Patrum*, Vol. VI.; see also Maittaire, *Opera Veterum Poet. Lat.*: London, 1713, in 2 vols.

201. During the last twenty years of the fourth century the empire had to defend itself on all sides against foreign enemies, and in the interior against usurpers. Theodosius (from A.D. 379 to 395), in his internal administration made every effort on the one hand to suppress paganism and the Arian heresy; and on the other to establish the orthodoxy defined by the Nicæan council. In these efforts he was, on the whole, successful, and polytheism became extinct, except in a few families of rank, which still clung to the ancient literature, and through it to the ancient religion. Literature, therefore, with the exception of two or three illustrious names, is henceforth represented by Christians.

One of the few pagan writers whom we have still to notice is *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*, son of L. Aurelius Symmachus (of whom five epigrams are still extant, printed in Meyer's *Anthology*, p. 106, foll.). He must have been born about A.D. 350, and certainly did not die before A.D. 420. He occupied a very prominent position in the empire, and notwithstanding his attachment to the pagan religion rose to the highest honours, even to the consulship in A.D. 391. His family was very wealthy, and he himself was a most honourable character, who enjoyed the esteem even of his Christian oppo-

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nents; but he was deficient in energy, and not free from the prejudices of a Roman aristocrat, for he looked upon the senate as the best and noblest portion of mankind. He was one of the most eloquent men of his time, and the ease and elegance of his compositions, formed after the best classical models, were acknowledged by all. We still possess some specimens of his oratory, which were discovered by A. Mai, and published at Milan, in 1815. They consist of parts of nine speeches, three of which belong to his earlier years, and are, in the usual Gallic style, somewhat bombastic panegyrics on Valentinian I. and his son Gratian; the other fragments are parts of speeches delivered in the Roman senate, either to recommend certain persons for public offices, or expressing his gratitude to the emperor for favours conferred, etc.*

The epistles of Symmachus which had been long known are of much greater importance. They were probably collected by his son, and published after his father's death, in ten books. They had, no doubt, like the letters of Pliny, been written with a view to their future publication. These letters reveal to us the amiable and kindly character of Symmachus, who was ever ready to afford help wherever he could; but interesting as they are by their exhibiting to us the private life and relations of their author, they afford us but little information about the public affairs of the time. In his letters he maintains with manly spirit his freedom and independence, though he scrupulously observes the courtly style which was then customary, not only in letters to the sovereign, but to other men in high positions. In his conduct towards Christians he was tolerant, and demanded for himself and his friends nothing more than toleration. Once he made an eloquent appeal to the emperor to order the restoration of the altar of Victoria, which had been destroyed in deference to the Christians. This was met by counter appeals of St. Ambrose and Prudentius, and failed in its object.†

* The fragments of his speeches were published by Niebuhr as an appendix to his edition of Fronto. See also H. Meyer, *Fragm. Orat. Rom.*, p. 627, foll.

† The epistles of Symmachus have often been published; a good edition is that of J. Ph. Pareus, last printed at Frankfurt, in 1651.

202. Among the many orators and rhetoricians mentioned by Symmachus and others, we must notice—

1. *Drepanius Pacatus*, a countryman and friend of Ausonius; we still possess a speech delivered by him, in A.D. 398, in the Roman senate, which is distinguished for its great liveliness, and for the knowledge which the author displays of the ancient Latin literature. It further contains on the whole a true description of the state of affairs under the usurper Maximus, and of the victory of Theodosius over him. The speech is printed in the collection of the Panegyrista.

2. *Messius Arrusianus*, an orator, who flourished at the same time, is known to us by a work, called *Exempla Executionum*, which is dedicated to Olybrius and Probinus. It is an alphabetical collection of substantives, adjectives, prepositions, and especially of verbs admitting of different constructions, with one illustrative example in every case. It is printed in A. Mai's edition of Fronto.

3. *Chirius Fortunatianus*, the author of a rhetorical school-book, in three books, in the form of a catechism, in which the examples are taken from the best authorities, Cicero and Quintilian; but the questions and answers are not always put in a skilful way.

203. History was studied and written by some of the members of the family of Nicomachus, but none of their productions have come down to us. The only great historical work which has reached our time, at least partially, is the *Rerum Gestarum libri XXXI.*, by Ammianus Marcellinus, a pagan, who was born about A.D. 330, at Antioch, in Syria, and belonged to a distinguished Greek family there. After having received a careful education, he entered the Roman army in the east, where, in A.D. 353, we find him in the suite of Ursicinus, whom, in the year following, he accompanied to Italy and Gaul. He there fought under the Emperor Julian against the Alemanni, A.D. 356; he then again followed Ursicinus to the east, where he distinguished himself, partly as a soldier and partly as a diplomatist, by his prudence and presence of mind. In A.D. 359 he returned to Antioch, and some years later he again served under Julian against the Persians. He finally settled at Rome, where he devoted his remaining years to historical pursuits. The great work which he produced was

a continuation of Tacitus, in thirty-one books, from the reign of Nerva down to the death of Valens, A.D. 378. The first thirteen books, in which the work came down to A. D. 353, seem to have been very brief, and are now lost. The remaining eighteen books refer to the author's own time, for which he is a very valuable and trustworthy authority, for in his active career he had himself taken part in the affairs of the time, and evidently wished to tell the truth. His character as it appears in his work, is that of an honest and straightforward soldier. He shows his devotion to pagan superstition, but is tolerant towards Christians, and likes to show off his learning. His language is often scarcely intelligible, being a medley of archaisms, newly-formed words and phrases, and full of unusual constructions. In the editions of this work there are generally added some small anonymous treatises, called *Excerpta vetera de Constantino Chlora, Constantino Magno et aliis Imperatoribus*, which are written in a barbarous language, and *Excerpta de libris Chronicorum de Odoacre et Theodorico, regibus Italiae*.*

204. Philosophy was cultivated at this time, as before, especially by men who fancied they saw in it a powerful weapon against the overwhelming influence of Christianity; but among them there is no one who has left a mark in literature.

There are two grammarians whose works are still extant, and who are of great importance in more than one respect, viz.—

1. **Servius Honoratus**, a younger contemporary of Symmachus, who had a school at Rome, but is known to us chiefly through his excellent commentary on the poems of Vergil. This commentary has, indeed, come down to our time, but not without considerable interpolations and curtailments. It is full of antiquarian, historical and mythological lore, and of quotations from earlier writers, whence it is to us a mine of information on Roman and Italian affairs, which is not to be obtained elsewhere.†

* The best editions of Ammianus Marcellinus are those of Valesius and Lindenbrogius: Paris, 1681; and of C. G. A. Erfurdt: Leipzig, 1803, in 3 vols.

† It is printed in some of the earlier editions of Vergil, as in that of P. Burmann: Amsterdam, 1746, in 4 vols. A separate edition has been published by H. A. Lion, Göttingen, 1826, in 2 vols.

Some other grammatical works ascribed to Servius are printed in Putschius' and Keil's collections of Latin grammarians and elsewhere. They are:—1. *In Secundam Donati Artem Interpretatio*; 2. *De Ratione Ultimorum Syllabarum liber ad Aquilinum*; 3. *Ars de Pedibus Versuum sive Centum Metris*; 4. *De Metris Horatii*; 5. *De Accentibus*; but whether all or any of them are really works of Servius is very doubtful.

2. **Ti. Claudius Donatus**, who likewise wrote a commentary on Vergil addressed to his son Donatianus. This commentary also is extant, but shows less taste and judgment than that of Servius, and contains less historical and antiquarian information. It is preceded by a life of Vergil, which seems to be mainly based on the life of the poet by Suetonius.

205. There remain a few technical writers on special subjects, belonging to the latter part of the fourth century:—

1. **Flavius Vegetius Renatus**, the author of an *Epitome Institutionum Rei Militaris*, in five books, which is dedicated to the Emperor Valentinian, and seems to have been composed about A.D. 390. Vegetius was probably a Christian, who extracted the information conveyed in his book from earlier writers on military affairs of the Romans, and introduced historical notices of regulations made by Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian. The work is simply a compilation from other books, and the author does not aim at any beauty or excellence of style, but his facts are valuable.*

2. **P. Vegetius**, sometimes surnamed *Veterinarius*, seems to have lived about the beginning of the fifth century, and is the author of a work called *Mulomedicina*, or *De Arte Veterinaria*, in six books. It treats of diseases of horses and oxen, and is founded on Greek works treating of the same subject (*hippiatrica*). The style and language are so barbarous that some critics suppose it to be a translation of some Greek work made in the middle ages. It is printed in J. M. Gesner's *Scriptores rei Rusticæ*.

3. **Marcellus**, surnamed *Empiricus*, is said to have held some official position in the reign of Theodosius II. Under his name there exists a work, *De Medicamentis*, which cannot

* A good text of the work has been edited by C. Lang: Leipzig, in Teubner's collection.

have been written before A.D. 408. As the author calls Ausonius his fellow-citizen, he must have belonged to Burdigala. His work, which is mainly based upon Scribonius Largus, consists of thirty-six chapters, giving remedies, even magical ones, against all kinds of diseases. Its chief value consists in making us acquainted with botanical names, some of which are also given in Keltic. Appended to the book are seventy-eight hexameters on the same subject, but their prosody is very incorrect.*

206. The following are the most important theological writers of this period, but as they belong to the history of Christianity and of the Church rather than to a history of literature, we shall not discuss their theological writings, but confine our remarks to those which are of interest to scholars:—

Hieronymus
Ambrosius or **St. Ambrose** bishop of Milan, flourished from about A.D. 340 to 397. He is the grandest Christian character of the time; he was clever, energetic, and bold, but at the same time unselfish and humane. In promoting and establishing the power and glory of the church he was indefatigable; in fact he has been described as at once the general and the statesman of the church militant, for which he did more than any one else. Among his numerous writings, the most important to us are his epistles and his funeral orations on Valentinian and Theodosius; but he also acquired great reputation by his sacred hymns, in which he adhered more closely to the classical forms than Amasus. He was probably a native of Gaul, and began his career as a pleader in courts of law, but in his position as bishop of Milan, he commenced his polemics against the Arians, and showed his boldness and energy, particularly in his conduct towards Valentinian. His learning, however, was neither very profound nor very extensive, and his greatness lay simply in his personal character. We still possess ninety-one of his epistles, some of which are real treatises, as, e.g., that against Symmachus' proposal to restore the altar of Victory. His twelve hymns are composed in iambic dimeters, and the lines are often rhyming. These hymns became so popular that after-

* The little work is sometimes printed together with the works of Celsus.

wards all similar compositions, such as the famous "Te Deum Laudamus," were called Ambrosian hymns. His other works are of a strictly theological and polemical character. Like those of most other Christian writers, they are printed in the collections of the ecclesiastical fathers.

207. **Hieronymus**, commonly called **St. Jerome**, was a much more learned defender of Christianity, and at the same time a much more acute thinker and dialectician. He was born, A.D. 331, at Stridon, on the frontier of Dalmatia and Pannonia, and received instruction from Marius Victorinus, Donatus, and at Constantinople from Gregorius of Nazianzus. He was equally versed in Greek and Hebrew as in Latin. He is the author of an immense number of works, of which he himself gives us a list, from which it is evident that he must have been a man of most extraordinary mental activity. Most of his works seem to have been written at a monastery near Bethlehem, whither he retired in A.D. 381, and where he died, A.D. 420. Among his works we must here notice:—

1. *His Translation of the Old and New Testament*, a real master-work of the kind, which completely eclipsed the earlier translation, and still forms the foundation of the Vulgate.

2. *His Translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius*, with interpolations and a continuation; it is dedicated to Valentinus and Gallienus. The original chronicle came down to A.D. 325, and Hieronymus continued it to A.D. 378, and at the same time made additions in other parts; these additions or interpolations can now be easily discovered by comparing the Armenian translation, which is a simple version of the Greek, and was discovered in 1816. The chronicle of Hieronymus was afterwards continued by Prosper and Cassiodorus.

3. *De Viris Illustribus*, is a history of all the Christian writers down to his own time, and thus forms a complete history of Christian literature. It was written in A.D. 392.

4. *Epistole*, which extend over the long period from A.D. 370 to the end of his life, in 420.*

208. **Turannius Rufinus**, a contemporary and friend of

* The works of Hieronymus were edited by Erasmus: Basle, 1565, in 9 vols., foll. They are also contained in Migne's *Patrologia Cursus Completus*: Paris, 1849, vols. 22-30,

Hieronymus, was a native of Aquileia, and occupied himself chiefly with translating theological works from the Greek into Latin. Thus, he translated works of Origen and Eusebius; but he does not seem to have been much concerned about literal fidelity. In one of his works Rufinus, having spoken in praise of Origen, whose opinions were looked upon as heretical, Hieronymus, who himself had previously been an admirer of Origen, made a fierce attack upon his friend, to which the latter replied in a work consisting of two volumina, which is still extant. Rufinus also published an edition of the *Sententie* of Sextius, which he altered and modified so as to give them a Christian appearance. The works of Rufinus are collected in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. XXI.

Another Christian writer of this time was *Faustinus*, two of whose works have come down to us, one against the Arians and Macedonians, in seven books, and another, in defence of his own party; it was presented to Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius. They are printed in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. XIII.

209. *Aurelius Prudentius Clemens* is the most distinguished Christian poet of the time. He was a native of Spain, born about A.D. 348. He began his career as a pleader in courts of law, and afterwards filled several political offices; but when he had reached the age of fifty-seven he published his poems and withdrew into a monastery. The time of his death is unknown. His poetry bears strong marks of his original pursuits as a rhetorician. He possesses a great command of language, and manages his subjects with such skill that even abstruse subjects become lively and interesting in his hands. His principal works are—

1. *Liber Cathemerinôn*, a collection of religious hymns for daily use, in lyrical metres, partly in imitation of those of Horace.

2. *Liber Peristephanon*, poems in praise of Christian martyrs, in various metres; some of them show great warmth of feeling.

3. *Hamartigeneia*, on the doctrine of the Trinity; he there combats the heresies of the different Christian sects; it is chiefly written in hexameters.

4. *Psychomachia*, an allegorical poem in hexameters, in

which the virtues and the vices contend for the possession of the soul of man.

5. *Contra Symmachum*, in two books, likewise in hexameters. In the first book he combats polytheism in general, and in the second the special assertions of Symmachus, who had petitioned the emperor to restore the altar of Victory.

6. *Diptychon*, or *Encheiridion*, consists of forty-nine epigrams, of four hexameter lines each, on Biblical subjects.

In matters of form, and in versification, Prudentius follows the best models of the classical times, but his prosody is not always quite correct.*

We must also mention a poetess, *Proba Faltonia*, the wife of the proconsul Adelphus, who composed in Vergilian verses portions of the Old Testament and the history of Christ from his birth to his ascension. These compositions are still extant, and have often been printed (see Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. XIX.).

210. *Meropius Pontius Anicius Paulinus*, a distinguished writer both in prose and in verse, was a relative and pupil of Ausonius, and a native of Burdigala. He flourished between A.D. 353 and 431. Having received a careful rhetorical education, he composed a panegyric on the Emperor Theodosius after his victory over Eugenius. We still possess fifty-seven letters written by him, and a number of poems in different metres. In A.D. 389 he became a convert to Christianity, and ultimately, in A.D. 409, Bishop of Nola, in Campania, after having given all his property to the poor. After his conversion he devoted all his energies to the promotion of Christianity and the glorification of the martyrs, especially of Felix, who was greatly venerated at Nola. All his productions show that he was intimately acquainted with the pagan literature of Rome (see his works in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. LXI.).

211. There exists a work, *Lex Dei*, probably written in the reign of Theodosius by some unknown Christian lawyer who was well acquainted with the Roman criminal law. The work contains a comparison of the Mosaic laws with the laws of the Romans, in which the author tries to show that

* A good separate edition of Prudentius is that of Th. Obbarius: Tübingen, 1845. See also the collections of the Fathers.

the laws of Moses form the real foundation of those of Rome. The whole is divided into sixteen titles. The latest Roman law quoted is one promulgated by Theodosius in A.D. 390. The work is printed in Huschke's *Jurisprudentiæ Antejustinianæ Reliquiæ*, pp. 528-590.

212. The end of the fourth century produced one pagan poet, who was so familiar with the forms and metres of the best period of Latin literature as to apply them with the greatest ease and freedom, though in other respects, in his rhetorical phrases and in his flattery of the great, he was by no means above his age. That poet was **Claudius Claudianus**, a native of Alexandria, in Egypt. About his family and the time of his birth nothing is known; but from his works it is evident that he had received a careful education, and acquired extensive knowledge of a variety of subjects. He seems to have been at Rome, A.D. 395, and there to have become acquainted with the Vandal, Stilicho, afterwards his great friend and patron, whose fall in A.D. 408 Claudius did not live to see, as the latest event alluded to in his poems belongs to A.D. 404. Although his native language was Greek, he wrote nearly all his poems in Latin; and although he was a pagan, he nowhere shows any hostility towards the Christians. His poems are for the most part on contemporaries or contemporary events, either praising his great and powerful friends, such as Stilicho and Honorius, or attacking his enemies, such as Rufinus and Eutropius. For this reason his poems are also of historical importance; but we must remember that he avails himself of the poetical licence of embellishing and exaggerating the virtues of his heroes, and is not free from passionate vehemence in the attacks of his enemies. His poetry has greater force, displays greater resources and a more powerful imagination, than that of Silius Italicus, or that of any other of the later poets. We shall enumerate the works in the order in which they are printed in the edition of J. M. Gesner: Leipzig, 1759:—

1. *In Consulatum Probinii et Olybrii*, refers to A.D. 395, and is a panegyric, in 279 hexameters, on the two consuls.

2. *In Rufinum*, in two books, likewise in hexameters, each book having an introduction in elegiacs. He is most bitter

against Rufinus, though he is not supposed to be too severe upon him.

3. *De tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, a panegyric in hexameters referring to A.D. 396.

4. *De quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, a similar panegyric referring to A.D. 398.

5. *De Nuptiis Honorii et Mariæ*, A.D. 398.

6. *Fescennina in Nuptias Honorii et Mariæ*, a number of smaller poems, in different metres, all referring to the marriage of Honorius.

7. *De Bello Gildonico*, in hexameters, describes the preparations for the war against the Mauretanian chief, Gildo, in A.D. 398.

8. *De Fl. Mallii Theodori Consulatu*, with a prologue in elegiacs, belongs to A.D. 399.

9. *In Eutropium*, in two books, is full of contempt of Eutropius, and belongs to A.D. 400.

10. *De laudibus Stilichonis*, in two books, is a most lively panegyric on that captain.

11. *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, with a preface in elegiacs, belongs to A.D. 400.

12. *De Bello Getico* describes Stilicho's wars against the Getæ, or Goths, during the years from A.D. 400 to 403.

13. *In sextum Consulatum Honorii Augusti*, a panegyric belonging to A.D. 400.

14. *Laus Serenæ Reginæ*, a panegyric on that lady, the adopted daughter of Theodosius and wife of Stilicho. This poem is unfinished.

15. *Epithalamium*, a marriage song addressed to Palladius and Celerina.

All these poems refer to persons or events of the poet's own time; but the following treat of mythological subjects:—

1. *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, in three books, seems to be unfinished.

2. *Gigantomachia* is likewise unfinished. He seems to have treated the same subject in a Greek poem, of which seventy-seven lines are still extant.

3. *Æpistolæ*, five in number, and all in elegiacs. They are real letters, and are written in plain and simple language.

4. *Idyllia*, seven in number, are studies of a descriptive and narrative kind in hexameters and elegiacs.

5. *Epigrams*, forty-four in number: some of them are written in Greek; all of them are certainly not by Claudian; some of them are clearly the works of Christians, perhaps of Amasus.

To these works Gesner, in his edition of Claudian, has added a poem called *Laudes Herculis*, the author of which is unknown.

213. Aurelius Augustinus (St. Augustin) was born at Sagaste, in Numidia. His father is described as a very passionate man, and he grew up chiefly under the influence of his pious mother, Monica. He received his literary and rhetorical education at Madaura, and afterwards continued his studies at Carthage, where he led rather a reckless life, and became connected with the sect of the Manichæans. Subsequently we find him engaged as a teacher of rhetoric at Tagaste, Carthage, and Rome. From the last city he was sent to teach at Milan, of which St. Ambrose was bishop. Through his influence, united with that of his mother, he was won over to the orthodox church, and baptised A.D. 387. He then returned to Africa, became a presbyter in A.D. 386, and, in 395, Bishop of Hippo, which office he held until his death, in A.D. 430, during the siege of the town by the Vandals.

Augustin was the greatest and most influential among the ecclesiastical writers of the time: in his character he combined the lively imagination of a poet with the acute intellect of a philosopher; the grand pathos of an orator with the pettiness of a quibbling grammarian; and large-heartedness with fanatical zealotism. In his earlier years he had indulged his passions; but afterwards he gave himself up to the contemplation of his inmost self, and of human nature in general, whereby he gave to theology a more practical direction, while with inexorable severity he combated the heresies then prevailing.

Towards the end of his life, in A.D. 427, he wrote a work called *Retractationes*, in two books, in which he gives a complete account of the works he had until then published, and in which he intended to correct sundry errors of which he had since become convinced; but some of those earlier

works had become so scarce that he was unable to obtain a copy, while others are still extant, such as—

1. *Libri tres contra Academicos*, written in A.D. 386, and edited separately by Orelli, with Cicero's *Academica*.

2. *De pulchro et apto*, written at Carthage about A.D. 380, in two or three books. The book was very early lost, and Augustin himself was unable afterwards to obtain a copy of it.

3. *De Vita Beata*, dedicated to Manlius Theodorus; of this book also Augustin was unable to procure a complete copy when he wanted to correct his errors.

4. *De Ordine*.—In this treatise he discusses the question whether good and evil are both contemplated by Providence in the government of the world.

5. *Soliloquia*, in two books, are communings with himself on a variety of subjects.

6. *De Immortalitate Animæ* was written, as Augustin himself admits, in a style so obscure that afterwards he himself could scarcely understand it.

7. *Disciplina*, that is, the elements of the so-called *septem artes liberales* (the seven liberal arts), was a kind of encyclopædia, embracing grammar, music, dialectics, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, and philosophy. Of this work we still possess the part treating on rhythm and music (*De Musica*, in six books). It is composed in the form of a dialogue between a master and his pupil, and seems to be based for the most part on a similar work of Varro. An abridgment of it has been discovered by A. Mai, and is printed in his *Collectio Scriptor. Vet.*, Vol. III., p. 116, foll.

Of the part treating on rhetoric, a portion only has come down to us, which is printed in C. Halm's *Rhetores Lat. Minores*: Leipzig, 1863. Of the part *De grammatica*, only an abridgment is extant, which has been published separately by C. Fr. Weber: Marburg, 1861; the *Principia Dialecticæ* has been published separately by Crecelius: Elberfeldt, 1857.

Among Augustin's later works those of most general interest are:—

1. *Confessiones*, in thirteen books, in the first ten of which he speaks of himself, and in the remaining three of the Scriptures. This work throws a vast deal of light on the manners

and morals of the period. Good editions of the work are those of Dr. Pusey, in the *Biblioth. Patr. Eccles. Cathol.*, Vol. 1, Oxford; and of K. von Raumer: Stuttgart, 1856. Augustin's most celebrated work is,

2. *De Civitate Dei*, in twenty-two books. The composition of it occupied several years, and it was not completed till A.D. 426. The author was induced to write it, he says, for the purpose of refuting the assertions of many pagans that the calamities which befell Rome, during the invasion of the Goths in A.D. 410, were the consequences of the introduction of Christianity. There is a useful edition of the text published by Tauchnitz: Leipzig, 1825.

We further possess 270 epistles of St. Augustin, many of which are long dissertations, and which extend over the period from A.D. 386 to the last year of his life, A.D. 430. His other works are purely theological, and consist of dogmatic and polemical treatises and sermons.*

214. Sulpicius Severus, a presbyter and contemporary of St. Augustin, was a native of Aquitania, in Gaul, and must have been born about A.D. 365. He seems to have spent the principal part of his life in a monastery, and is known to us as the author of a brief chronicle entitled, *A Mundi Exordio libri II.* It begins with the creation and carries the history down to his own time, A.D. 403. As he did not know Hebrew he used the Septuagint version for the Old Testament history. In his language he imitates Sallust and Tacitus, the latter of whom he also used as an authority in his history of the Jewish war. He did not intend to write a critical history, but has produced a good book, which it is pleasant to read.† Sulpicius Severus also wrote a life of St. Martin of Tours, which gives us a very vivid picture of the religious excitement of those times. The saint is described as having had frequent contests with the devil, as having had visions of Christ and the angels, as having performed sundry miracles and predicted the near approach of the end of all things. Two dialogues continue the subject of the life of St. Martin, and are written in imitation of the dialogues of Cicero.

* An edition of all St. Augustin's works has been edited by Migne: Paris, 1835-1839, in 11 vols.

† It has been edited by J. Drusius: Arnheim, 1607.

Lastly, we have by him three epistles to Eusebius, Aurelius, and Bassula, which are intended as introductions to the dialogues. The language of all the productions of this author is comparatively pure and simple.*

215. There are some other Christian writers of this period who deserve to be noticed:—

1. *Q. Julius Hilario*, a countryman and contemporary of Sulpicius Severus, who in A.D. 397 wrote a little work, *De Duratione Mundi*, which still exists. Its style and language are very barbarous; but its author is evidently a man of an independent mind. The work is printed in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. VII., p. 277, foll.

2. *Tichonius*, a Donatist, born in Africa, wrote among other things a work, *De Bello Intestino*, in three books.

3. *Flavius Mallius Theodorus*, who was consul in A.D. 399, and wrote a little work, *De Metris*, in a form which shows great independence of the prevailing style. It is dedicated to his son, and is printed in Gaisford's *Scriptores Lat. Rei Metricæ*: Oxford, 1837.

4. *Pelagius*, a Briton, the founder of the sect of the Pelagians, wrote several works, some of which are known only from the writings of St. Augustin against them. His principal work, which we still possess, is a well-written confession of his faith addressed to Pope Innocent.

5. *Celestius*, likewise a Briton, and a friend of Pelagius. His writings are known only from their being mentioned or quoted by St. Augustin.

6. *Anianus*, translated homilies of St. Chrysostom, which are printed with the works of the latter.

7. *Julianus*, Bishop of Æclanum, was deposed, A.D. 418, because he had adopted the doctrines of Pelagius. He wrote several books against St. Augustin. Other ecclesiastical writers of this time are enumerated by Gennadius, *De Viris Illustribus*.

216. *Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius*.—Nothing positive is known about his personal history, except that he belonged to an illustrious family, and that, as he himself intimates, he was not a native of Italy. It is, however, not impossible that he may be the Macrobius, who, A.D. 399, was prefectus

* A good edition was published by C. Halm: Wien, 1866.

prætorio Hispaniarum, in A.D. 410, proconsul of Africa, and in A.D. 422, præpositus sacri cubiculi. If this be correct, he must have been a Christian at the last-mentioned date, as none but a Christian could hold that office; but as in his writings Macrobius is a thorough pagan, it would follow that his works were written before A.D. 422; but, however this may be, we know Macrobius only as the author of three works still extant:—

1. *Commentarius in Somnium Scipionis*, in two books, addressed to his son Eustachius. By way of introduction Macrobius gives some account of the relation subsisting between Cicero's work, *De Re Publica* (of which the dream of Scipio forms a part), and Plato's *Politica*, and of the general import of dreams. Throughout the commentary Macrobius reasons from the point of view of the New Platonists, to whose school he belonged.

2. *Saturnaliū Conviviorum libri Septem*, composed in the form of dialogues, supposed to be carried on during the three days of the Saturnalia, and the day preceding the festival, partly before and partly during dinner. The subjects of discussion are of the most different kind, and remind us of the *Noctes Atticæ* of Gellius; but the merits of Vergil form the main topic. In form, the dialogues are imitations of those of Plato. The work has not come down to us entire, for there are wanting the end of the second book, the beginning of the third, the second half of the fourth, and the end of the seventh; but it nevertheless contains much information which the author culled from books which are now lost. The style and language are above the average of contemporary writers, especially when we remember that Macrobius wrote in a language which was not his native tongue.

3. *De Differentiis et Societatibus Græci Latinique verbi*.—Of this work we possess only excerpts which were made in the middle ages, and are of little value.*

217. Other grammarians belonging to about the same time are:—

1. Vibius Sequester, to whom is ascribed a dictionary of

* The works of Macrobius have been collected by L. Jan: Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1848-52, in 2 vols. A good text is that edited by Fr. Eissenhardt, in Teubner's collection.

geographical names occurring in the poets most commonly read in schools. The author is evidently a pagan, the work not containing a trace of Christianity. The language is barbarous, and the remarks of the author show traces of carelessness or ignorance.*

2. *Exuperantius*, the author of a little work on the first civil war at Rome, which seems to be only a poor compilation from the works of Sallust, whose histories were then very popular. The name Exuperantius was so common during the fourth and fifth centuries that it is impossible to identify him.†

3. *Grillius* wrote a commentary on Cicero, *De Inventione*, from which some extracts are still extant; they are printed in C. Halm's *Rhetores Lat. Min.*, p. 596, foll.

We may here also notice *Theodorus Priscianus*, who is styled Archiater, and wrote a medical work in Greek, which is lost, but of which a Latin translation is still extant, under the title of *Medicina Præsentanea*, in five books. The author owns that he is a follower of the old religion. Other works by the same author, such as *Antidotarium* and *De Simplici Medicina*, are entirely lost.‡

218. The following writers, all of whom belong to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, composed all, or at least some of their works in verse—

1. *Severus Sanctus Endelechius*, a rhetorician, is the author of a pleasing idyll on a cattle plague, written in asclepiadean and glyconic meters. The author, probably a native of Gaul, has written his poem in the form of a dialogue between two shepherds who lament over the disease which is ruining their flocks. They are met by another shepherd who has saved his flock by the sign of the cross. The two others thereupon resolve to become Christians. The poem is printed in Wernsdorf's *Poetæ Lat. Min.*, Vol. II., p. 218, foll.

2. *Licentius*, a countryman and pupil of St. Augustin, was studying at Rome at the time when Augustin returned to

* The best edition is that of C. Bursian: Zurich, 1867.

† Edited by C. Bursian: Zürich, 1868.

‡ The Latin work, still extant, was published by S. Gelenius: Basle, 1532.

|| It has also been published separately, by J. A. Giles: London, 1838.

Africa. From Rome he sent his master a somewhat flippant poem of 154 hexameter lines, in which he asked for his advice, and the loan of his work, *De Musica*. As he also hinted in his poem that he intended to marry, Augustin did all he could to prevent it, and seems to have succeeded in persuading him to enter a monastery. The poem is printed in Wernsdorf's *Poetæ Lat. Min.*, Vol. IV., p. 516, foll.

3. *Symphosius* is the author of 100 riddles (enigmata), each of which consists of three hexameter lines. The riddles are preceded by a prologue of seventeen hexameters. The author clearly still clings to the pagan faith, and no influence of Christianity is visible. His language and versification are correct, and he has evidently imitated Ausonius. The best text of the riddles is that in Riese's *Antholog. Lat.*, I., p. 187, foll.

4. *Avianus* is the author of forty-two Æsopian fables, in elegiacs, dedicated to one Theodosius; he probably lived at Rome, and certainly was not a Christian. His style and language, though not always simple, are generally pure, and his verses are correct, and often even elegant. The book was much used as a school-book, whence some of the fables are much interpolated, and others have been added which did not belong to *Avianus*.*

5. *Martianus Capella*, a native of Carthage or Madaura, lived shortly before Africa was conquered by the Vandals. He was a pleader, but what became of him after the Vandals established themselves in his native country, is unknown. He is the author of a singular kind of encyclopædia, in nine books, called *Satira* or *Satiricon*, consisting partly of prose and partly of verse, and treating of the seven *artes liberales*. It thus resembles, in some respects, the *Disciplina* of St. Augustin. The central subject is the marriage of Mercury with the maiden Philologia, at the celebration of which the seven arts appear, forming, as it were, the court of Mercury. The first two books describe the courtship of Mercury, and the final yielding of Philologia, who is raised to the rank of a goddess. The several arts are then introduced: Book III. introduces Grammar, Book IV. Dialectics, Book V. Rhetoric,

* The best edition is that of C. Lachmann: Berlin, 1845. There is also a good text, by W. Fröhner, in Teubner's collection.

Book VI. Geometry and Geography, Book VII. Arithmetic, Book VIII. Astronomy, and Book IX. Music. Some parts, and more especially the beginning and end of each book, are in verse, and in various metres, whereby the whole becomes a tasteless and ridiculous medley. Varro seems to have been the writer's chief authority. In the book on rhetoric he mainly follows *Aquila Romanus*; in that on geometry his chief authorities are *Solinus* and *Pliny*; and on music he follows *Aristides Quintilianus*. *Martianus Capella* often simply copies his authorities, and frequently misunderstands them. In the middle ages the work was much used as a school-book.*

E. LATIN LITERATURE DURING THE FIFTH CENTURY AFTER CHRIST.

219. The fifth century witnessed the gradual breaking-up of the Western Empire; one province after another fell into the hands of the barbarians, and not only Italy, but Rome itself was devastated by invading hordes, until at last, A.D. 476, Odoacer, a Teutonic chief, gave the death-blow to the western portion of the empire, and was proclaimed King of Italy. Ten years later the Frank, Clovis, also put an end to the Roman dominion in Gaul, the last province in which a Roman governor had maintained himself. The ancient civilization was stamped out so far as it was not adopted by the conquerors, and they certainly did not always adopt the best part of it. The Latin language, however, continued to be spoken, though, under the influence of the ruling foreigners, it became more and more deteriorated; but literature still continued to be cultivated to some extent, for there were men who still cherished the recollection of the past, whose minds drew nourishment from the literature of former days, and who preserved in their writings a purer taste; but the power of literary production itself gradually died away. Intellectual culture became the exclusive domain of the priesthood and of the monks, who made use of it for their own purposes, so that all literary productions assumed a theological colouring, even where secular matters were treated of. The laity sank

* The best text is that edited by Fr. Eissenhardt, in Teubner's collection. See also C. Halm's, *Rhetores Lat. Min.*, p. 449, foll.

deeper and deeper into barbarism. Some of the Teutonic courts, such as that of the Visigoths and Burgundians, and afterwards that of the Franks, became places of refuge for what still remained of the spirit and literature of ancient Rome. The only branch of learning which had a kind of revival during this period was jurisprudence, for the necessity of devising an organization for the states formed out of the fragments of the empire gave a fresh impulse to it, which was manifested partly in collecting the old laws, and partly in adapting them to the new state of things.

220. During the first part of the fifth century we still meet with several men who cultivated poetry more or less successfully. Foremost among these stands **Rutilius Numatianus**, a native of Gaul, where Latin literature continued to be cultivated at a time when everywhere else it had nearly died out. Numatianus, about A.D. 414, held several high offices at Rome. We possess, by him, a poem, sometimes called *Itinerarium* and sometimes *De Reditu suo in Patriam*. It was written, A.D. 416, in elegiacs; in it the poet describes his return from Rome to his native place in a very pleasing and attractive manner. The journey was probably undertaken because his estates in Gaul were suffering much from the devastations of the Goths. The poet travelled by sea, starting from Ostia. The narrative is interspersed with many digressions on a variety of subjects and rhetorical eulogies on friends. The author was a pagan, and very bitter against the Christians and their asceticism, and in this respect his poem is also of historical value, as it gives us a picture of the feelings and thoughts entertained by the class to which the author belonged. Otherwise the poem is pervaded by great warmth and depth of feeling. Unfortunately, the greater part of the second book and the beginning of the first are lost.*

221. Other poets of the same period are:—

1. **Merobaudes**, a brave soldier, and an able rhetorician of Spain. Until recently we knew of him only as the author of a poem, called *Laus Christi*, in thirty hexameters, which is printed in J. M. Gesner's edition of Claudian, p. 710; but,

* There is a good edition of Rutilius Numatianus, by A. W. Zumpt: Berlin, 1840; and a good text, by L. Müller, in Teubner's collection.

in 1823, Niebuhr discovered, in a palimpsest at St. Gallen, fragments of poems which he found to belong to works of Merobaudes, and which he published at Bonn, in 1824. These fragments contain high-flown and rhetorical eulogies of the imperial family of Valentinian III., and of Aëtius; but their form is correct, and an elegant imitation of Claudian.

2. **Claudius Marius Victor** turned into verse the book of Genesis, from the creation to the destruction of Sodom, which he seems to have written mainly to show his orthodoxy. A more interesting production of his is a letter to the abbot Salomon, in which he describes, in 105 hexameters, the manners and conduct of men and women in his own time; the subject is treated satirically, and the writer gives us a vivid picture of the morals of the age. His works are printed in Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. LXI., p. 937, foll.

Orientius, who perhaps belongs to the same period, is the author of a work called *Commonitorium*, in two books, written in elegiacs. In it he admonishes his readers to lead a Christian life.*

222. The presbyter **Orosius**, born at Taraco, in Spain, likewise belongs to the early part of the fifth century. Disputes among the Christian sects induced him to go to Africa to consult St. Augustin, and he afterwards became one of the most zealous admirers of the great bishop. On the advice of St. Augustin he also visited Hieronymus, who was living in Palestine. On his return he saw St. Augustin again, and it seems that on his suggestion Orosius undertook to write a general history from the creation down to A.D. 410, entitled *Historiarum libri VII., Adversus Paganos*. This history is of course only a brief summary, and its object is to refute the assertion of the pagans that the calamities which came upon the empire were the consequences of the neglect of the old religion and of the introduction of Christianity. He points out that calamities have occurred at all times, and seems, in fact, to delight in relating them. Orosius had not devoted himself particularly to the study of history; he drew his information chiefly from Livy and from

* It has been edited separately by H. L. Schurtzfeldsch: Wittemberg, 1706; and is also contained in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. LXI., p. 974.

the chronicle of Hieronymus, and appears to have composed his work in great haste; at least there is no lack of such errors as are the natural result of haste or carelessness. Sometimes he does little more than transcribe his authorities; but where he himself speaks he is rhetorical, and delivers his opinions with a sort of priestly unction. In the middle ages his work was extremely popular, and was looked upon as an authority; Alfred the Great is reported even to have translated it into Anglo-Saxon. Besides this history there exists a treatise, *De Arbitrii Libertate*, which is ascribed to Orosius (he is said to have written it whilst staying in Palestine), against the followers of Pelagius.*

Among the numerous other followers of St. Augustin, in his contest with the Pelagians, several distinguished themselves by their writings, such as *Marius Mercator*, *Aurelius*, bishop of Carthage, and others. The Pelagian doctrines and monasticism, however, had likewise able defenders in men like *Joannes Cassianus*, the rhetorician *Victorinus*, the presbyter *Philippus*, *Eucherius*, and others.

In A.D. 434 *Vincentius* of Lerinum, in Gaul, wrote, under the name of *Peregrinus*, a work called *Commonitorium*, i.e., an admonition to hold fast by the Catholic faith, as based upon the Scriptures and tradition, and a warning against all heresies. The work is composed in simple and almost classical language. The author, who is himself half a Pelagian, considers St. Augustin to be too harsh and severe against the Pelagians.

Another zealous partisan of St. Augustin was *Prosper*, an Aquitanian; besides polemical works against the Pelagians, we have by him 106 epigrams, embodying dogmatic sentences from the works of St. Augustin, and a chronicle, which is partly an abridgment and partly a continuation of that of Hieronymus, from A.D. 379 to 455. *Prosper* further wrote in A.D. 430, a didactic poem, *De Ingratis*, in four parts, in hexameters, against Pelagius. The language and versification of *Prosper*, though not free from faults, show that he was well acquainted with the pagan poets. (See *Wernsdorf's Poetæ Lat. Min.*, Vol. III., p. 413, foll.).

* The best edition of Orosius is that of Havercamp: Leyden, 1738 and 1767.

223. One of the best, if not the best, writers of the time was the Roman bishop *Leo I.*, commonly called the Great. He was the real founder of the Roman hierarchy. In his sermons no less than in his epistles, we find in him an acute thinker, an able statesman, man of business, and a writer of almost classic purity. As a champion of orthodoxy he was inexorable; but in matters of daily life he was anything but a rigorist or a pedant. There are extant ninety-six sermons and 173 epistles, which extend over the period from A.D. 442 to 460. His works, like those of other ecclesiastical writers, are contained in the collections of Gallandi, and the more recent one of Migne.

To the same period belongs the presbyter *Salvianus* of Massilia, who, among other things, wrote a work in four books against avarice; another, *De Gubernatione Dei*, in eight books, in which he endeavours to show that the misfortunes of the time are well-deserved divine punishments. Besides these works there are extant nine epistles. All his works are not only of great interest in regard to the history of the time, but are well written, though, according to the general character of the age, not free from diffuseness and rhetorical exaggeration.

224. The year A.D. 438 is memorable in the history of jurisprudence, for in it was published at Constantinople, and sanctioned by Valentinian, the *Codex Theodosianus*. A commission of learned jurists had been engaged upon it for eight years. It consists of sixteen books, and contains the official collection of imperial constitutions from the time of Constantine, in chronological order. In the eastern empire this code remained in force until it was incorporated with and supplemented by that of Justinian. In the west it was soon abridged, and of the first third we now possess only that abridgment.*

After the publication of this code, and perhaps before the death of Theodosius, in A.D. 450, there was drawn up in Gaul what is called the *Consultatio*, i.e., opinions expressed by jurists on being consulted. In these opinions the laws referred to are quoted verbatim from the *Codex*.

* The best edition of what remains of the *Codex Theodosianus* is that of G. Haenel: Bonn, 1837.

Gregorianus, the *Codex Hermogenianus*, and the *Codex Theodosianus*.

225. Rhetoric still continued to be cultivated in Gaul more than anywhere else; but its productions were poor in thought, and remarkable only for their elaborate and artificial style, their pompous panegyrics and flatteries. The most gifted representative of this Gallic literature was **C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius**, born about A.D. 430. He belonged to an illustrious Gallic family, and during the latter part of his life he was Bishop of Claremont, in which capacity he was the leader of the expedition against the Goths. He died about A.D. 487, leaving behind him several works, of which we still possess a collection of twenty-four poems, and nine books of epistles containing 147 letters, some of which are in verse. In one of these letters he gives an account of his own life and literary pursuits. The longest of his poems are of an epic character, and are written in praise of his father-in-law, of Majorian, and Anthemius. All his writings are overloaded with a display of learning and conventional phrases. His poetical productions are composed partly in hexameters and partly in elegiacs, or in hendecasyllables, which was then becoming a favourite metre. The epistles, which are written on the model of those of Pliny and Symmachus, bring very vividly before us the mild, good-natured, but exceedingly vain character of the author; and many of them are real panegyrics on those to whom they are addressed. It is evident that Apollinaris Sidonius was well acquainted with the classical literature of Rome. His works are printed in the collections of ecclesiastical writers by Gallandi and Migne.

Among the friends of Apollinaris Sidonius who tried their powers in literature, we have to notice—

1. *Rusticius Elpidius Domnulus*, the author of some Christian poems in hexameters which are still extant and are printed in G. Fabricius's *Corpus Poetarum Christ.*, p. 754, foll.

2. *Mamertus Claudianus*, a presbyter of Vienne, who, about A.D. 470, wrote a work, *De Statu Animæ*, dedicated to Apollinaris Sidonius, hymns, and other poems.

3. *Faustus*, bishop of Reii, is the author of a work, *De Dei*

Gratia, in two books, of letters, sermons, etc. His writings, like those of many of his contemporaries, were occupied with the question about man's free will (*liberum arbitrium*), about divine grace, and about the person of Christ. Other ecclesiastics published commentaries on the Scriptures, sermons, and the like.

226. Towards the end of the fifth century we meet with a poet of considerable merit of the name of **Sedulius**, who wrote, in hexameters, the history of the New Testament, under the title of *Paschale Carmen*, in four, or, according to another division, in five books. The first describes the miracles of the Old Testament as an introduction to the history of Christ; the second and following books contain the history of Christ from his birth to his ascension. The whole is written in the usual rhetorical style, and evidently in imitation of Vergil. Sedulius afterwards wrote on the same subject in prose, which is more rhetorical and less natural than the narrative in verse. There further exists under his name an elegy on the Old and New Testament, and a hymn on Christ in iambic dimeters.*

Other poets of the same period are:—

1. *Auspicius*, bishop of Toul about A.D. 470, is the author of a metrical epistle to Arbogastes, in which quantity is altogether neglected and no care is taken to avoid the hiatus; it is composed entirely according to the common pronunciation and accent. Of a similar kind are the productions of

2. *Amænus*, who drew up a manual of the Old and New Testament history in hexameters, wrote an epic poem on St. Martin of Tours, and other poems, of which fragments are still extant.

3. *Paulinus*, of Perigueux, lived about A.D. 470, and wrote an epic poem on the life of St. Martin, in six books, which, in matters of form, is pretty correct; but the author has recourse to certain artificial devices, which are not improvements. As to the subject of the poem, he follows Sulpicius Severus, but expands the legends about the saint.

4. *Dracontius* is the author of a didactic poem, in three books, on subjects taken from the Old Testament; the first describes the creation, the second the flood; the third is of

* The best edition of Sedulius is that of F. Arevali: Rome, 1794.

a dogmatic character, with proofs derived partly from Biblical and partly from Roman history.* There is another poem of Dracontius, called *Satisfactio*, in elegiacs, in which he humbly prays a Vandal king to forgive his having written in praise of one who is that king's enemy. Dracontius appears to have been well versed in classical as well as in Biblical literature.

5. *Avitus*, bishop of Vienne, who died in A.D. 523, composed in hexameters a work, in five books, on the creation, original sin, God's curse, the flood, and the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea.

6. *Flavius Felix*, an African who lived in the reign of the Vandal king, Thrasamund (A.D. 496-523), is the author of a number of epigrams which are printed in Riese's *Anthol. Latina*.

7. *Coronatus*, author of a few poems printed in the same Anthology.

8. *Lucorius*, author of several lascivious epigrams in imitation of Martial. The author must have been a pagan (see Riese's *Anthology*).

9. *Florentinus*, of whom we have a fragment of thirty-nine hexameters in praise of King Pharamund, which is likewise printed in Riese's *Anthology*.

227. While most ecclesiastical writers confined themselves to Biblical, dogmatical, and controversial writings, or to legends about saints, few only turned their attention to history. One of these few was *Gennadius*, a presbyter of Massilia, who, besides many theological works, wrote a continuation of Hieronymus' work, *De Viris Illustribus*, and brought it down to A.D. 495. It treats, of course, only of ecclesiastical writers; but is nevertheless of great value in regard to the history of the time. The same work was afterwards continued by Isidorus.

Other writers on historical subjects were—

1. *Victor Vitensis*, probably a native of Africa, wrote, about A.D. 488, a history of the persecutions suffered by the orthodox church at the hands of the Vandals, who were Arians. The author evidently writes, with deep feeling and

* There is a separate edition of this work by C. E. Gläser: Breslau, 1847 and 1848.

animation, of scenes which he himself had witnessed, but his language is barbarous.

2. *Idacius*, a Spaniard, wrote a chronicle beginning with A.D. 379, the first year of the reign of Theodosius, and ending in A.D. 469, the third year of Valentinian. The author bestows special care on the history of Spain, and evidently tells the truth where he is not blinded by superstition. To him is also ascribed a list of the Roman consuls from the beginning of the republic down to A.D. 468, interspersed with historical remarks chiefly taken from Livy; but it is very doubtful whether it is the work of Idacius.

228. Among the grammarians of this period the most remarkable is the vain *Fabius Planciades Fulgentius*, probably a native of Africa, who flourished about A.D. 500. He wrote several controversial works, but the three works which are of interest to us here are—1. *Mythologicon libri III.*, which is full of the most absurd and arbitrary explanations of the ancient myths. 2. *Vergiliana Continentia*, an allegorical explanation of Vergil's *Æneid*, in which Vergil himself is made to expound the views of Fulgentius. 3. *De Abstrusis Sermonibus*, contains explanations of sixty-three obsolete and rare words, which are arranged without any order or system; and the author refers to authorities, many of which never existed, to make his readers believe that he was a man of most extensive reading. The style of Fulgentius is modelled on that of Apuleius and Martianus Capella; but the language is so bombastic that it is often difficult to arrive at its real meaning.*

There is an ecclesiastical writer of the name of *Fulgentius*, who, in A.D. 508, was Bishop of Ruspe, in Africa, and is the author of numerous theological works, that are still extant, and are written in a very dry and unattractive style. Under his name we also have an historical work, *De Ætatibus Mundi*, which seems to have consisted of twenty-three books, but of which only the first fourteen are extant. The work is of but little historical value; the greater part of it is devoted to Biblical history, then follows that of Alexander the Great, the history of Rome, the substance of the four

* The three works of Fulgentius are printed in A. van Staveren's *Auctores Mythographi Latini*: Leyden, 1741.

Gospels, the history of the Apostles, and last, that of the Roman emperors. The style of the work is very like that of the grammarian Fulgentius, and it has been supposed by some to be a work of the latter.*

229. Other grammarians who flourished about the same time, and whose extant works are published in the collections of Putschius and Keil, are—

1. *Cledonius*, a Roman senator and teacher of grammar at Constantinople, wrote a commentary on the *Ars* (*Grammatica*) of Donatus.

2. *Pompeius*, a Mauretanian, is likewise the author of a *Commentum Artis Donati*, and a smaller one on Donatus' work, *De Barbarismis et Metaplasms*.

3. *Consentius*, a Gaul, author of a grammatical work, of which two parts, *De Nomine et Verbo* and *De Barbarismis et Metaplasms*, are still extant. They seem to have originally been only parts of a complete work on grammar.

4. *Phocas*, called Grammaticus Urbis Romæ, is the author of an *Ars* (*Grammatica*), written partly in prose and partly in verse, and of a life of Vergil, mainly derived from that of Donatus. Under his name we also have a work, *De Aspiratione*, which, however, is probably the production of a much later writer.

5. *Rufinus* of Antioch, the author of a *Commentarius in Metra Terentiana* and a treatise on the metres of orators; both of them are written partly in verse and partly in prose. They are printed in Gaisford's *Scriptores Rei Metricæ*, p. 388, foll.; see also Halm's *Rhetores Lat.*, p. 575, foll.

F. LATIN LITERATURE DURING THE SIXTH CENTURY AFTER CHRIST.

230. The kingdom established in Italy by Odoacer did not last long, for, in A.D. 489, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, invaded Italy; in A.D. 493 he put to death Odoacer at Ravenna, and, with the consent of Zeno, emperor of the East, founded a new kingdom of Italy. Under him the country enjoyed the blessings of peace for about thirty years, from A.D. 493 to 526, during which we meet with some distinguished representatives of Latin literature, such as Boëtius and Cassio-

* There is a separate edition of it by J. Hommey: Paris, 1696.

dorus. But under Theodoric's feeble successors the country was again exposed to perpetual ravages, and the last traces of intellectual activity disappeared, not only in Italy, but also in those countries of the west which had been provinces of the empire, though in Gaul a certain taste for literature lingered on longest. In oratory we have only hollow declamation; history, where it was cultivated, produced nothing but compilations and abridgments of earlier works; jurisprudence, also, could do little more than collect and modify the works of former times. The many attempts to frame codes of laws at last, in the reign of Justinian (A.D. 527-565), led to the formation of the famous "Corpus Juris" for the whole empire. Otherwise literature was now entirely in the hands of priests, who, with very few exceptions, neglected the ancient literature, and confined themselves to theological or ecclesiastical questions.

231. One of the few eminent men during the first part of the sixth century was Boëtius, with his full name, *Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boëtius*, or *Boëthius*. He belonged to an illustrious family of Rome, where he was born between A.D. 475 and 480. Being of a noble family and a man of high intellectual culture, he was at an early age raised to high honours, and obtained the consulship in A.D. 510. Theodoric often availed himself of his great talents; but when, A.D. 520, the Eastern emperor Justin issued his edict against the Arians, Theodoric, who was himself an Arian, like all the Goths, began to distrust the Romans, who were Catholics. When, therefore, Boëtius, who was then *magister officiorum*, undertook the defence of the senator Albinus, who was accused of keeping up a treasonable correspondence with the Emperor of the East, the enemies of Boëtius took the opportunity of exciting the suspicion of Theodoric against him. They accused him of having connections with evil spirits, of sorcery, and of harbouring republican sentiments, which last point they proved by forged letters. The accusation seemed to be confirmed, in the eyes of the suspicious king, by the fact that, throughout his life, Boëtius had shown great patriotism and independence of mind. Theodoric, in order to make an example and to frighten the senators whom he suspected,

ordered Boëtius to be arrested and imprisoned at Pavia, and the senate, in its servility, condemned him to death without a trial. His property was confiscated, and he was executed A.D. 525. All his contemporaries speak highly of his learning, and of his noble and unselfish character. His death, by the order of an heretical king, soon threw round him the halo of a Christian martyr. Boëtius was indeed a Christian; but with him, as with other patriotic men of the time, there remained a considerable residue of paganism, which was kept alive by the study of the classical literature of their forefathers, and by their enthusiasm for the past greatness of their country. The most celebrated among the works of Boëtius is the *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, in five books, written during his confinement in prison. Philosophy is supposed to appear to the prisoner, and to console him in his misfortune. The reasons which she brings forward are purely philosophical, and none are derived from the Christian religion, nor does he allude to it in any way; but we everywhere see evidence of a noble mind striving after what is highest in humanity, and sometimes even the expression of a truly religious spirit. He never quotes any of the Christian writers, but frequently refers to Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca. The work is composed in the form of a dialogue, and poetry in different metres is interspersed in various parts; the metres are not always quite correct, but the verses show the author's skill and talent. The language is not free from the rhetorical mannerism of the time, but is tempered by the author's correct reasoning. The popularity of the work, during the middle ages, is attested by its translation into Anglo-Saxon, ascribed to Alfred the Great.*

The other works of Boëtius are on rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics. They are:—1. *Dialogi Duo in Porphyrium a Victorino Translatum*. 2. *Commentariorum in Porphyrium a se Translatum libri quinque*. 3. Translations and commentaries on Aristotle's *Categorice*, in four books; also, on other works of Aristotle. 4. A commentary on Cicero's *Topica*. 5. *De Syllogismo Categorico*, in two books. 6. *De Syllogismo Hypothetico*, in two books. 7. *De Divisione, de Definitione, de Differentiis Topicis*, in four books. 8. *De Musica*,

* The best edition of the original is that of Obbarius: Jena, 1843.

in five books; *De Arithmetica*, in two books; and lastly, a translation of Euclid's geometry, in two books.

Formerly certain theological works were also ascribed to Boëtius, but they are now generally admitted to be the productions of a much later time.*

232. Magnus Felix Ennodius, a contemporary of Boëtius, was a native of Gaul and bishop of Pavia. He was born about A.D. 473, and was early left as a poor orphan, who owed everything to the kindness of an aunt; but he married a rich lady, and after having squandered her property he became a priest, and his wife withdrew into a convent. In A.D. 511 he became bishop of Pavia, and was employed on sundry important missions by the bishop of Rome. He died A.D. 521. Ennodius is the author of numerous works both in prose and in verse.

1. *Vita Beati Epiphani*, a biography of Epiphanius, his predecessor in the see of Pavia.

2. *A Panegyric on Theodoric*, full of the most abject flattery, in an intolerably bombastic style; it was composed about A.D. 507.

3. *Epistolæ*, in nine books, containing 297 letters, some of which are addressed to persons in high positions; but public affairs are never discussed in them, and their style is full of rhetorical affectation.

4. *Poems*, in two books, without any poetical value; they are mostly mere hollow phrases, without substance. Some of the longer pieces contain accounts of journeys and an epithalamium; the divinities of pagan mythology are frequently mentioned, but only as a matter of form, just as a modern poet may invoke the muses. The poems are written in all kinds of metres, and some of them are scarcely worth preserving. It should be stated that Ennodius also wrote letters and sermons for other priests, even for bishops, which is a curious sign of the times.†

233. Priscianus, the most celebrated of ancient gram-

* The best edition of all Boëtius' works is still that of Glareanus: Basle, 1570. The commentary on Cicero's *Topica* is printed in Orelli's edition of Cicero, Vol. V.

† The works of Ennodius have been edited by J. Sirmond: Paris, 1611; and are also contained in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. LXIII., p. 13, foll.

marians, was a native of Caesarea, in Mauretania, but lived as a teacher at Constantinople in the reign of Anastasius (A.D. 491-518). Though he lived and taught in the Greek capital of the east, his works are devoted to the elucidation of the Latin language and literature. His Latin grammar, called *Institutiones Grammaticæ*, in eighteen books, is the most complete system of Latin grammar that has come down to us from antiquity, and has exercised an influence upon the construction of Latin grammars which is still felt. His work is valuable to us, more especially on account of the numerous quotations from the earlier Latin literature. It is based in the main on the best Greek grammarians, particularly Apollonius Dyscolus, in consequence of which his arrangement differs in several points from the works of his predecessors, whose labours, however, he has not neglected. His style is very diffuse, and of the classical arrangement of words in a sentence he seems to have scarcely any idea. During the middle ages the grammar of Priscian was the standard book, whence it was very frequently copied and epitomised.*

Other grammatical works of Priscian are :—

1. *De Duodecim Versibus Æneidos Principalibus*, a metrical and grammatical analysis of the verses of Vergil, in the form of questions and answers.

2. *De Accentibus* is commonly ascribed to Priscian, but is probably the production of a much later time.

3. *De Figuris Numerorum et de Numis vel Ponderibus* is a short treatise on the figures used by the Greeks and Romans to express numbers, on coins, and weights.

4. *De Metris Terentii Aliorumque Comicorum*.

5. *De Præexercitamentis Rhetoricæ* is a Latin translation of the *Progymnasmata* of the Greek rhetorician Hermogenes.

6. A Latin translation of Dionysius' *Periegesis*, under the title of *De Orbis Situ*, in 1086 hexameters. All these works were intended as school-books, by means of which Priscian tried to keep alive the study of the classical writers. They are all printed in Krehl's edition of Priscian, and also in Keil's collection of Latin Grammarians.

7. A panegyric on the Emperor Anastasius, in hexameters,

* A good edition of it is that by A. Krehl: Leipzig, 1819, in 2 vols.; it is also contained in Keil's Collect. of Lat. Gram.

with an iambic introduction. This work, which is very tame and dry, has been discovered during the present century, and been published by Endlicher: Vienna, 1828.

Eutyches, one of Priscian's pupils, is the author of several grammatical works, which he wrote even during the lifetime of his master. One, entitled *Ars de Verbo*, in two books, has come down to us. In composing it Eutyches made use of the works of Priscian, as well as of earlier authorities. His work, and those of some other grammarians, such as *Asper*, *Audax*, and *Vergilius*, who are much inferior to anything that Priscian or his school had produced, are printed in Keil's collection.

234. *Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus* and *Boëtius* are the two most eminent men in literature during this century. Cassiodorus, belonging to an illustrious and wealthy family of Bruttium, was born about A.D. 480, and was as distinguished by his own worth and learning as by the high offices with which he was entrusted by successive sovereigns; the consulship, the highest of all, he obtained under Theodoric in A.D. 514. As the king's private secretary he had, in fact, for a time, the management of all the affairs of the kingdom. After the fall of Vitiges, A.D. 540, Cassiodorus withdrew from public life into the monastery of Vivarium, in Bruttium, which he himself had founded, and died there, A.D. 575, at a very advanced age. His literary productions, like his life, are naturally divided into two parts, viz., those which belong to the period of his political activity, and those which he wrote during his retirement, where he devoted himself to theological and grammatical pursuits. To the first period belong several speeches, but more especially the following works :—

1. *Chronica*, containing the history of the world from Adam to A.D. 519. By far the greater part is a compilation from earlier works of the same kind; but from A.D. 496 the chronicle is his own. But this last part is poor, and written in a sort of official court style. The whole compilation also contains many serious errors. It has been edited by Th. Mommsen: Leipzig, 1861.

2. *Historia Gothorum* would be of much greater interest if we possessed it in its original form; but, unfortunately,

we have only an epitome of it, made by Jordanis, which epitome has probably caused the loss of the original.

3. *Variorum libri XII.*, is by far the most important of his works. The first five books contain ordinances, decrees, and other official documents, which Cassiodorus drew up and issued in the name of King Theodoric; the following books contain those issued in the names of Theodoric's successors; but the last two contain the correspondence of Cassiodorus, and the decrees which he published in his own name as *præfectus prætorio*. The latest of these documents refers to the year A.D. 538. They are of the greatest importance to those who wish to study the history of Italy under the dominion of the Goths. They are written in a conventional official style, but not without a certain degree of elegance.

After his adoption of the monastic life he wrote a series of theological and grammatical works, evidently with the view of promoting the study of the ancient classics, as well as of the sacred Scriptures. The more interesting of this class of works are—

1. *Lectiones Divine*, in two books; in them he points out to his brother monks the books, both religious and secular, which he recommends them to read and study.

2. A brief explanation of the seven liberal arts, under the title of *Institutiones Divinarum et sæcularium litterarum*. We do not possess this work complete; rhetoric is treated in it more fully than the other subjects (this part is printed in Halm's *Rhetores Lat. Min.*, p. 495).

3. Several treatises on grammar and orthography. All these works he composed from a desire to preserve a taste for learning and mental culture, which he saw was disappearing more and more. His own style has all the faults of the age. All his works are collected in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vols. LXIX. and LXX.

235. To draw up chronicles, to continue them, or to make epitomes of them, and to write lives of the saints seems to have been the only kind of historical writing that was popular during this period. Among writers of this class we have to mention:—

1. *Marcellinus*, who wrote a chronicle of the eastern empire,

from A.D. 379 to 534, in four books, which was continued by subsequent editors down to A.D. 566. It is in this extended form that the chronicle of Marcellinus has come down to us. It is printed in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. LI., p. 917, foll.

2. *Victor*, bishop of Tunnuna, in Africa, compiled a chronicle from the beginning of the world down to the first year of the Emperor Justin's reign, A.D. 566. Of this work only the last part, from A.D. 444, is now extant, and from that date it is a continuation of the chronicle of *Prosper*. In recording the ecclesiastical history of Africa, Victor is very minute, and apparently very accurate and truthful. It is printed in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. LXVIII., p. 937, foll. The chronicle of *Prosper* was also continued by *Marius*, bishop of Avanches, in Gaul, for the period from A.D. 455 to 581.

3. The Gothic bishop, *Joannes*, wrote a chronicle of his own time from A.D. 565 to 590. He had learned Latin and Greek at Constantinople, and afterwards founded a monastery called Biclaro, whence he is sometimes designated as *Joannes Biclarenensis*.

About the middle of the sixth century the Goth *Jordanis*, also called *Jordanus* or *Jornandes*, wrote two historical works:—

1. *De Rebus Geticis*, or *De Getarum sive Gothorum Origine et Rebus Gestis*, which in reality is a mere abridgment of the work of Cassiodorus on the same subject. Jordanis only made a few additions from the works of Mela and Orosius. The many errors which occur in this epitome are probably owing to the haste and carelessness with which Jordanis put together the materials he found in his authorities. The whole is a *rudis indigestaque moles*, and yet we ought to be grateful for its preservation, as the original of Cassiodorus is lost. There is a separate edition of it by C. A. Closs: Stuttgart, 1861.

2. *De Origine Mundi*, or *De Breviatione Chronicorum*, which is a brief summary of universal history, compiled from the most common sources, and extending from the creation to A.D. 551. A separate edition of it was published by F. Lindenbrog: Hamburg, 1611.

236. A few writers following the example set by Cassiodorus in his history of the Goths composed special histories.

Foremost among them stands Gregorius of Tours with his history of the Franks. His proper name was Gregorius Florentius. He belonged to a noble family of Auvergne, and was born about A.D. 540. In A.D. 573 he became bishop of Tours, and died there A.D. 594. In his history of the Franks, which consists of ten books, he makes no claims either to literary merit or to any extensive knowledge of profane history; but he appears to have been engaged upon it, with various interruptions, from A.D. 577 to 590. The author is very anxious not to be thought heretical in his opinions, the church is to him everything; and any miracle that is reported finds in him a ready believer, but he is nevertheless very desirous to tell the truth, and frankly censures the vices of the clergy. Besides this work, which is to us of great historical importance, Gregorius wrote treatises on various theological and ecclesiastical subjects, as on the miracles of our Lord, of the Apostles, and other martyrs, in eight books; on the virtues of St. Martin of Tours; on the virtues of St. Julian the martyr; on the lives of several other saints, etc. All these works are printed in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. LXXI.

The Briton *Gildas*, who flourished during the later half of the sixth century, wrote a work on the sufferings of the Christian Church in Britain since the arrival of the Saxons, entitled *Liber Querulus de Calamitate, Excidio, et Conquestu Britannia*. The first part of the work is historical, the second consists of reproaches against the British kings and clergy. Gildas writes with great animation and earnestness, but his language is clumsy and often difficult to understand. It is printed in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*: London, 1848, Vol. I.

237. About the middle of the sixth century we also meet with ecclesiastics who tried their hands at poetry on sacred and other subjects, *e.g.*

1. *Arator*, a younger friend of Ennodius, who is spoken of as a distinguished rhetorician, published an epic poem, *De Actibus Apostolorum*, in two books, with two dedications in elegiacs. The poem is written with care and elegance; though, as in all the metrical productions of this century, there are plenty of mistakes against prosody. It is printed

in G. Fabricius' *Corpus Poet. Christ.*, p. 569, foll.; also in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. LXVIII.

2. *Venantius Fortunatus*, a native of Northern Italy, studied rhetoric and law; and then, about A.D. 564, went to Gaul ostensibly to see the miracles of St. Martin of Tours. He was kindly received and assisted by Gregorius, the Frankish historian. He there became attached to a Thuringian princess, Radegund, and, after her death in A.D. 587, wrote her biography, and became a priest; in the end he even rose to an episcopal see. He is known as the author of several works in verse and in prose.

a. *Miscellanea*, in eleven books, a collection of poems, many of which are addressed to Gregorius, Radegund, and other persons of high rank, whom he eulogises and flatters in a very abject manner, not always adhering to truth. Some of these poems are hymns, and are mostly rhymed. He appears to have had great facility in versification.

b. An epic poem, in four books, on St. Martin of Tours, which is evidently written without much thought, diffuse and trivial.

c. The lives of several saints in prose, the style of which is forced, heavy, and bombastic. His works are printed in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vol. LXXXVIII.

3. *Flavius Cresconius Corippus*, an African grammarian, wrote epic poems, which are remarkable for their formal correctness, but also for their bombastic style, and their author's abject servility. His subjects are historical, but he treats them in the manner of a panegyrist. His works are:—

a. *Johannis sive de Bellis Libycis*, in seven books. The subject of the poem is the war which Johannes Patricius, about A.D. 550, carried on against the Mauretanians in Africa. This poem was published for the first time at Milan, in 1820, by Mazzuchelli.

b. *De Laudibus Justini Augusti*. This work is written in a manner so diffuse that the first four books do not extend beyond the first eight days of Justin's reign, and seems never to have been finished. The whole is so overloaded with praise and flattery that scarcely a trace of truth or fact is discoverable in it. The versification, however, is fluent, and

is modelled on Vergil and Claudian. It has been edited by I. Bekker in the Bonn edition of the Byzantine writers, together with the works of Merobaudes.

There exists further an anonymous epic called *Orestis Tragedia*, in 971 hexameters, which seems to belong to this period, and is full of vulgarisms in language, and of mistakes against prosody.*

238. By far the most influential theological writer of the sixth century was Pope Gregory I. (A.D. 590-604). He had no taste for the classical literature of Rome, but enthusiastically favoured monastic institutions, and shared the superstitions and the credulity of the times. His greatness lies in his manly character, his firmness, and his great talents. We cannot enter here upon a discussion of his numerous theological works, such as his homilies, commentaries on portions of the Old Testament, on the duties of the clergy, etc. His productions most important to us in an historical point of view are his letters written during the time that he occupied the papal see. He did much to improve the singing of hymns in churches, and we still possess nine hymns written by him. In all his writings Gregory appears as a man of a powerful imagination, which generally obscures his reason. His style of writing is generally diffuse, but at the same time contains many brief pithy sentences showing his practical wisdom. All his works are printed in Migne's *Patrol.*, Vols. LXXV.-LXXIX. There are a few other theological writers of whom works still exist, which are printed in Migne's great collection, such as:—

1. *Leander*, a Carthaginian, bishop of Sevilla, in Spain, and a contemporary and friend of Pope Gregory I. He is the author of numerous theological works.

2. *Eugippius*, the author of a life of the monk Severinus, the apostle of Noricum, which is written in the simple popular language of the time.†

3. *Martinus*, a Pannonian abbot, and afterwards archbishop of Braga, wrote several works both in prose and in verse.

* Has been edited by C. Schenkl: Prague, 1867.

† There is a separate edition of this work by A. Kerschbaumer: Schaffhausen, 1862.

239. The last author we have to mention as belonging to Latin literature is Isidorus, bishop of Sevilla, where he died in A.D. 640. Though he did not possess any very extensive knowledge or correct judgment, still he did much for the preservation of the ancient literature and its diffusion. Among his numerous writings on history, grammar, and theology, the most important and largest bears the title *Origines*, in twenty books. The first four treat of the seven liberal arts; books six to eight refer to religious and historical questions, and the rest is mainly devoted to grammar and language, and is chiefly based upon the *Prata* of Suetonius, whose words are often simply copied. The *Origines* are a kind of encyclopædia, in which the author treats of a great variety of subjects, and often supplies us with the substance of works that are lost. Another work of Isidorus, the object of which was likewise educational, bears the title *De Natura Rerum*, and is a kind of manual of physical geography compiled partly from the *Prata* of Suetonius and partly from Christian writers.*

240. With Isidorus we must close our survey of Latin literature. The Latin language, the deterioration of which had begun long before the invasion of Italy and the provinces by barbarians, underwent still greater and more sudden changes through the settlement of the conquerors among the Latin speaking populations. It may indeed be assumed that the higher classes of society at first continued to speak and write Latin with some degree of purity, until in the end, through the mingling of the Teutonic with the Latin elements, there were formed those modern languages of which Latin is still the basis, or rather which are further developments of Latin under foreign influences.

Latin literature naturally ceases when the language spoken differs from the written tongue. During the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries the spoken language was in a state of transition, and new idioms were in the process of formation, but as yet unsuited for literary purposes; those who wrote in Latin did not employ it as their native tongue, but as a language acquired, in addition to the native dialect, as was

* There is a separate edition of this work by G. Becker: Berlin; 1857.

the case with the Goth Jordanis, the Briton Gildas, the Anglo-Saxon Aldhelm, and afterwards with Boniface and the venerable Bede; and they wrote in Latin because it was the only available literary language, and because it was understood by all who had received what was then called a liberal education. They had acquired it by study as much as a person born in a distant province of a modern kingdom has to acquire the literary language.

241. It now only remains to cast a glance at the state of jurisprudence, once the glory of the Romans, and at the final codification of the laws under Justinian.

In the eastern as well as in the western empire the necessity had long been felt of collecting the laws into one code or body, in which they might be consulted with ease not only by professional lawyers, but by any one who had occasion to acquaint himself with them. In the western empire, where jurisprudence had well nigh ceased to be cultivated, this necessity was felt to be more pressing, because the relation between the conquerors and the conquered had to be defined, and a *modus vivendi* had to be established between them. The first attempt was made in A.D. 500 by the edict of Theodoric, which contained 154 articles for the guidance of judges in military and civil cases. Among the Visigoths in Spain and Gaul King Euric had before this published the *Lex Visigothorum*, or *Breviarium Alarici*, and his son Alaric, in A.D. 506, appointed a commission which drew up the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* to regulate the relations between the old Roman provincials and the Visigoths. Into this code were admitted numerous constitutions and novellæ from the Theodosian, Gregorian, and Hermogenian codes, and it continued for centuries to be the law in a great part of western Europe. In A.D. 472 the king of the Burgundians established the *Lex Burgundionum*, which was altered in A.D. 517, and is sometimes called the *Gundobada*. Its laws were likewise drawn from the three above mentioned codes, as well as from the national Burgundian institutions.

In the eastern empire, law schools had continued to flourish after Constantinople had become its capital, and the study of law and its history was pursued there with great zeal. In A.D.

528 the Emperor Justinian appointed a commission of eminent lawyers to draw up what is now called Justinian's *Corpus Juris*. It consists of two parts, the *jus vetus*, as established by the great jurists of former times, and the *jus principale*, or the laws and constitutions of the emperors. The latter was compiled and published first, but six years later, A.D. 534, a new and revised edition was made by a commission headed by Tribonian. This commission again selected and sifted the imperial constitutions from the earlier codes, abridged and put them together in the *Codex Justinianus*, in twelve books. This is the form in which we now have the work. The selections from the *jus vetus* were made between A.D. 530 and 533, in fifty books, called *Digesta*. As the laws were thus fixed once for all, it was thought desirable to have a standard book as an introduction to the study of the law, and its composition was intrusted to Tribonian and two other eminent jurists. In performing their task they availed themselves chiefly of the institutes of Gaius, and the result was the work known by the name of *Justiniani Institutiones*, in four books. Additions and supplements, under the name of *Novellæ*, mostly in Greek, continued to be made to the code of Justinian down to the end of the sixth century. All these parts combined form the *Corpus Juris* of Justinian, and by its means that emperor has saved for posterity the treasures of Roman law, and, by the *Digesta* in particular, he has enabled us to study and investigate the history of the Roman law. The emperor himself, however, had no such lofty ideas when he ordered the work to be undertaken. His object was to immortalise his name, to establish despotic uniformity throughout the empire, to put an end to controversies among jurists, and to render it impossible for judges to act according to their own conscience and discretion. Later despots were not slow to discover these advantages, and tried with more or less success to introduce the Roman laws of Justinian into their own dominions. The *Corpus Juris* has often been edited with and without commentaries. A good edition of the text is that of J. L. G. Beck: Leipzig, 1829, in 2 vols. The best edition of the *Digesta* alone is that of Th. Mommsen and P. Krüger: Berlin, 1866-70, in 2 vols.; and of the *Institutiones* that of J. E. Kuntze: Leipzig, 1869, in 2 vols.

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